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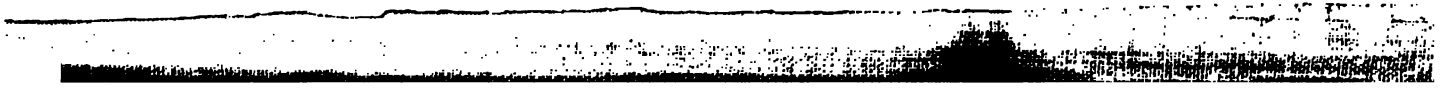

THE

WORKS

OF

SIR WALTER RALEGH, Kt.

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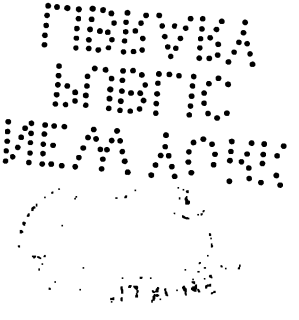


THE FIRST PART

OF THE

HISTORY

OF THE

WORLD:

ENTREATING OF THE

TIMES FROM THE BIRTH OF ABRAHAM TO THE DESTRUCTION OF THE TEMPLE OF SOLOMON.

BOOK II. CONTINUED.

CHAP. XII.

Of the memorable things that happened in the world from the death of Joshua to the war of Troy; which was about the time of Jephtha.

SECT. V.

Of Gideon, and of Dædalus, Sphinx, Minos, and others that lived in this age.

DEBORA and Barac being dead, the Midianites, assisted by the Amalekites, infested Israel. For when under a judge who had held them in the fear of the Lord, they had enjoyed any quiet or prosperity, the judge was no sooner dead, than they turned to their former impious idolatry. Therefore now the neighbouring nations did so master them in a short time, (the hand of God being withheld from their defence,) as to save themselves they [illegible] into caves [illegible]

[p] Judg. vi.

the mountains, and other the like places of hardest access; their enemies possessing all the plains and fruitful valleys; and in harvest time by themselves, and the multitude of their cattle, destroying all that grew up, covering the fields as thick as grasshoppers; which servitude lasted seven years.

Then the Lord by his angel stirred up [q]Gideon the son of Joash, afterwards called Jerubbaal; whose fear and unwillingness, and how it pleased God to hearten him in his enterprise, it is both largely and precisely set down in the holy scriptures: as also how it pleased God by a few select persons, [r]namely 300 out of 32,000 men, to make them know that he only was the Lord of hosts. Each of these 300, by Gideon's appointment, carried a trumpet, and light in a pitcher, instruments of more terror than force, with which he gave the great army of their enemies an alarum; who hearing so loud a noise, and seeing (at the crack of so many pitchers broken) so many lights about them, esteeming the army of Israel to be infinite, and strucken with a sudden fear, they all fled without a stroke stricken; and were slaughtered in great numbers, two of their princes being made prisoners and slain. In his return, the Ephraimites began to quarrel with Gideon, because he made war without their assistance, being their greedy of glory, the victory being gotten; who, if Gideon had failed, and fallen in the enterprise, would no doubt have held themselves happy by being neglected. But Gideon appeasing them with a mild answer, followed after the enemy, in which pursuit being tired with travel, and weary even with the slaughtering of his enemies, he desired relief from the inhabitants of Succoth, to the end that (his men being refreshed) he might overtake the other two kings of the Midianites, which had saved themselves by flight. For they were four princes of the nations which had invaded and wasted Israel; to wit, Oreb and Zeeb, which were taken already, and Zebah and Salmunna, which fled.

Gideon being denied by them of Succoth, sought the like

[q] Judges vi. 8. [r] Judges vi. and vii.

relief from the inhabitants of Penuel, who in like sort refused to succour him. To both of these places he threatened therefore the revenge, which in his return from the prosecution of the other two princes he performed; to wit, that he would tear the flesh of those of Succoth with thorns and briers, and destroy the inhabitants and city of Penuel. Now why the people of these two cities should refuse relief to their brethren the Israelites, especially after so great a victory, if I may presume to make conjecture, it seems likely, first, that those cities set over Jordan, and in the way of all invasions to be made by the Moabites, and Ammonites, and Midianites into Israel, had either made their own peace with those nations, and were not spoiled by them; or else they knowing that Zeba and Salmunna were escaped with a great part of their army, might fear their revenge in the future. Secondly, it may be laid to the condition and dispositions of these men, as it is not rare to find of the like humour in all ages. For there are multitudes of men, especially of those which follow the war, that both envy and malign others, if they perform any praiseworthy actions for the honour and safety of their own country, though themselves may be assured to bear a part of the smart of contrary success. And such malicious hearts can rather be contented that their prince and country should suffer hazard, and want, than that such men as they mislike should be the authors or actors of any glory or good to either.

Now Gideon, how or wheresoever it were that he refreshed himself and his weary and hungry soldiers, yet he followed the opportunity, and pursued his former victory to the uttermost: and finding Zeba and Salmunna in [s] Karkor, (suspecting no further attempt upon them,) he again surprised them, and slaughtered those 15,000 remaining; having put to the sword in the former attempt 120,000, and withal he took Zeba and Salmunna prisoners; whom, because themselves had executed Gideon's brethren before at Tabor, he caused to be slain; or (as it is written) at their own request slew them with his own hands: his son, whom

[s] A place in Basan, as it is thought, Judg. viii. 10.

he first commanded to do it, refusing it; and in his return from the consummation of this marvellous victory, he took revenge of the elders of Succoth and of the citizens of Penuel; forgiving no offence committed against him, either by strangers or by his brethren the Israelites. But such mercy as he shewed to others, his own children found soon after his death, according to that which hath been said before. The debts of cruelty and mercy are never left unsatisfied; for as he slew the seventy elders of Succoth with great and unusual torments, so were his own seventy sons, all but one, murdered by his own bastard Abimelech. The like analogy is observed by the rabbins, in the greatest of the plagues which God brought upon the Egyptians, who having caused the male children of the Hebrews to be slain, others of them to be cast into the river and drowned; God rewarded them even with the like measure, destroying their own firstborn by his angel, and drowning Pharaoh and his army in the Red sea. And hereof a world of examples might be given, both out of the scriptures and other histories.

In the end, so much did the people reverence Gideon in the present for this victory, and their own deliverance, as they offered him the sovereignty over them, and to establish him in the government; which he refused, answering, *I will not reign over you, neither shall my child reign over you, but the Lord shall* &c. But he desired the people, that they would bestow on him the golden earrings which every man had gotten. For the Ismaelites, neighbours, and mixed with the Midianites, used to wear them: the weight of all which was a thousand and seven hundred shekels of gold, which makes of ours 2380 pounds, if we follow the account of the shekel vulgar. And because he converted that gold into an [u] ephod, a garment of gold, blue silk, purple, scarlet, and fine linen, belonging to the high priest only, and set up the same in his own city of Ophra, or Ephra, which drew Israel to idolatry, the same was the destruction of Gideon and his house.

There was another kind of ephod besides this of the high

[u] Exod. xxviii. Judg. viii. 28.

priests which the Levites used, and so did David when he danced before the ark, and Samuel while he was yet young, which was made of linen only.

Now if any man demand how it was possible for Gideon with 300 men to destroy 120,000 of their enemies, and afterward 15,000 which remained, we may remember, that although Gideon with 300 gave the first alarm, and put the Midianites in rout and disorder, yet all the rest of the army came into the slaughter and pursuit; for it is written, [x] *That the men of Israel being gathered together out of Nephtali, and out of Asher, and out of Manasse, pursued after the Midianites:* for this army Gideon left in the tents behind him, when he went down to view the army of his enemies, who with the noise of his 300 trumpets came after him to the execution.

There lived with Gideon Ægeus the son of Pandion, who reigned in Athens; Euristheus king of Mycenæ; Atreus and Thyestes, the sons of Pelops, who bare dominion over a great part of Peloponnesus; and after the death of Euristheus the kingdom of Mycenæ fell into the hand of Atreus. This is that Atreus, who, holding his brother in jealousy, as an attempter both of his wife and crown, slew the children of Thyestes, and causing their flesh to be dressed, did therewith feast their father. But this cruelty was not unrevenged. For both Atreus and his son Agamemnon were slain by a base son of Thyestes, yea the grandchildren and all the lineage of Atreus died by the same sword.

In Gideon's time also those things were supposed to have been done which are written of Dædalus and Icarus. Dædalus, they say, having slain his nephew Attalus, fled to Minos, king of Crete, for succour, where for his excellent workmanship he was greatly esteemed, having made for Minos a labyrinth like unto that of Egypt. Afterwards he was said to have framed an artificial cow for Pasiphaë the queen, that she, being in love with a fair bull, might by putting herself into the cow satisfy her lust, a thing no less unnatural than incredible, had not that shameless emp[illegible]

[x] Judges vii.

hibited the like beastly spectacle openly before the people of Rome in his amphitheatre, on purpose as may seem to verify the old fable. For so it appears by those verses of Martial, wherein the flattering poet magnifieth the abominable show as a goodly pageant in those vicious times:

Junctam Pasiphaën Dictæo, credite, tauro
Vidimus; accepit fabula prisca fidem.
Nec se miretur, Cæsar, longæva vetustas:
Quicquid fama canit, donat arena tibi.

But concerning that which is reported of Pasiphaë, Servius makes a less unhonest construction of it, thinking that Dædalus was of her counsel, and her pander for the enticing of a secretary of Minos called Taurus, which signifieth a bull, who begat her with child, and that she being delivered of two sons, the one resembling Taurus, the other her husband Minos, it was feigned that she was delivered of the monster Minotaur, half a man and half a bull. But this practice being discovered, and Dædalus appointed to be slain, he fled out of Crete to Cocalus, king of Sicily; in which passage he made such expedition, as it was feigned that he fashioned wings for himself and his son to transport them. For whereas Minos pursued him with boats, which had oars only, Dædalus framed sails both for his own boat and for his sons, by which he outwent those that had him in chase. Upon which new invention Icarus bearing himself overbold, was overborne and drowned.

It is also written of Dædalus, that he made images that could move themselves and go, because he carved them with legs, arms, and hands; whereas those that preceded him could only present the body and head of those men whom they cared to counterfeit; and yet the workmanship was esteemed very rare. But Plutarch, who had seen some of those that were called the images of Dædalus, found them exceeding rude.

With [y] Gideon also flourished Linus the Theban, the son of Apollo and Terpsichore, who instructed Thamaris, Or-

[y] Herind. Plat. Paus. l. 9.

pheus, and Hercules. He wrate of the creation, of the sun and moon's course, and of the generation of living creatures; but in the end he was slain by Hercules, his scholar, with his own harp.

Again, in this age those things spoken of [z] Sphinx and Œdipus are thought to have been performed. This Sphinx being a great robber by sea and land, was by the Corinthian army, led by Œdipus, overcome. But that which was written of her propounding of riddles to those whom she mastered, was meant by the rocky and inaccessible mountain near Thebes which she defended, and by Œdipus dissolving her problem, his victory over her. She was painted with wings, because exceeding swift, and with the body of a lion for her cruelty. But that which Palæphatus reports of Sphinx were more probable, did not the time disprove it; for he calls her an Amazonite, and the wife of Cadmus; who when by her help he had cast Draco out of Thebes, (neglecting her,) he married the sister of Draco, which Sphinx taking in despiteful part, with her own troop she held the mountain by Thebes, from whence she continued a sharp war upon the Thebans, till by Œdipus overthrown. About this time did Minos thrust his brother out of Crete, and held sharp war with the Megarians and Athenians, because his son Androgeus was slain by them. He possessed himself of Megara by the treason of Scylla, daughter of Nisus the king. He was long master of the sea, and brought the Athenians to the tribute of delivering him every year seven of their sons; which tribute Theseus released, as shall be shewed when I come to the time of the next judge Thola. In the end he was slain at [a] Camerinus, or Camicus, in Sicilia, by Cocalus the king, while he pursued Dædalus; and was esteemed by some to be the first lawgiver to those islands.

To this time are referred many deeds of Hercules, as the killing of Antæus the giant, who was said to have sixty and odd cubits of length; which though Plutarch doth confirm, reporting that there was such a body found by Sertorius the

[z] Strab. l. 6. [a] Arist. Pol. 1.

Roman in Libya, where Hercules slew Antæus, yet for myself I think it but a loud lie. That Antæus was of great strength, and a cunning wrestler, [b]Eusebius affirmeth; and because he cast so many men to the ground, he was feigned to be the son of the earth. Pliny saith, that he inhabited near the gardens Hesperides in Mauritania. [c] St. Augustine affirms, that this Hercules was not of Greece, but of Libya; and the Hydra also which he overcame Plato expoundeth to be a subtle sophister.

SECT. VI.

Of the expedition of the Argonauts.

ABOUT the eleventh year of Gideon was that famous expedition of the Argonauts, of which many fabulous discourses have been written, the sum of which is this.

Pelias the son of Neptune, brother by the mother's side to Æson, who was Jason's father, reigning in Iolchos, a town of Thessaly, was warned by the oracle of Apollo to take heed of him that ware but one shoe. This Pelias afterwards sacrificing to Neptune, invited Jason to him, who coming hastily, lost one shoe in passing over a brook: whereupon Pelias demanded of him what course he would take (supposing he were able) against one of whom an oracle should advise him to take heed? To which question, when Jason had briefly answered, that he would send him to Colchos, to fetch the golden fleece, Pelias immediately commanded him to undertake that service. Therefore Jason prepared for the voyage, having a ship built by Argus, the son of Phryxus, by the counsel of Pallas, wherein he procured all the bravest men of Greece to sail with him; as Typhis the master of the ship, Orpheus the famous poet, Castor and Pollux the sons of Tyndarus, Telamon and Peleus, sons of Æacus, and fathers of Ajax and Achilles; Hercules and Theseus; Zetes and Calais, the two winged sons of Boreas; Amphiaraus the great soothsayer, Meleager of Calydon, that slew the great wild boar, Ascalaphus and Ialmenus, or Almenus, the sons of Mars, who were afterwards at

[b] Euseb. in Chr. [c] Aug. de Civitate Dei, l. 19. c. 12. Eus. in Chr.

the last war of Troy; Laërtes the father of Ulysses, Atalanta a warlike virgin, Idas and Lynceus the sons of Apharens, who afterwards in fight with Castor and Pollux slew Castor and wounded Pollux, but were slain themselves; Lynceus by Pollux, Idas by Jupiter with lightning.

These and many other went with Jason in the ship Argo; in whose prow was a table of the beech of Dodona, which could speak. They arrived first at Lemnos; the women of which island having slain all the males, purposing to lead an Amazonian life, were nevertheless contented to take their pleasure of the Argonauts. Hence they came to the country about Cyzicus, where dwelt a people called Doliones, over whom then reigned one Cyzicus, who entertained them friendly; but it so fell out, that loosing thence by night, they were driven by contrary winds back into his port, neither knowing that it was the same haven, nor being known by the Doliones to be the same men; but rather taken for some of their bordering enemies, by which means they fell to blows, insomuch that the Argonauts slew the most part of the Doliones, together with their king Cyzicus; which when by daylight they perceived, with many tears they solemnized his funeral. Then departed they again, and arrived shortly in Mysia, where they left Hercules, and Polyphemus, the son of Elates, who went to seek Hylas the darling of Hercules, that was ravished by the nymphs.

Polyphemus built a town in Mysia, called Cios, wherein he reigned. Hercules returned to Argos: from Mysia the Argonauts sailed into Bithynia, which then was peopled by the Bebryces, the ancient inhabitants of the country, over whom Amycus, the son of Neptune, was then king. He being a strong man, compelled all strangers to fight with him at whirlbats, in which kind of fight he had slain many, and was now himself slain by Pollux. The Bebryces, in revenge of his death, flew all upon Pollux; but his companions rescued him, with great slaughter of the people. They sailed from hence to Salmydessus, a town in Thrace, (perhaps of Thracia Adriatica,) wherein Phineus a soothsayer dwelt, who was blind, and vexed with the harpies. The har-

pies were said to be a kind of birds, which had the faces of women, and foul long claws, very filthy creatures, which when the table was furnished for Phineus came flying in, and devouring or carrying away the greater part of the victuals, did so defile the rest, that they could not be endured. When therefore the Argonauts craved his advice and direction for their voyage, You shall do well, quoth he, first of all to deliver me from the harpies, and then afterwards to ask my counsel. Whereupon they caused the table to be covered, and meat set on; which was no sooner set down, than that presently in came the harpies, and played their accustomed pranks; when Zetes and Calais, the winged young men, saw this, they drew their swords, and pursued them through the air; some say, that both the harpies and the young men died of weariness in the flight and pursuit. But Apollonius saith, that the harpies did covenant with the youths to do no more harm to Phineus, and were thereupon dismissed. For this good turn Phineus gave them informations of the way, and advertised them withal of the dangerous rocks, called Symplegades, which by force of winds running together did shut up the passage; wherefore he willed them to put a pigeon before them into the passage, and if that passed safe, then to adventure after her; if not, then by no means to hazard themselves in vain. They did so, and perceiving that the pigeon had only lost a piece of her tail, they observed the next opening of the rocks, and then rowing with all their might passed through safe, only the end of the poop was bruised.

From thenceforward (as the tale goeth) the Symplegades have stood still; for the gods, say they, had decreed, that after the passage of a ship they should be fixed. Thence the Argonauts came to the Mariandyni, a people inhabiting about the mouth of the river Parthenius, where Lycus the king entertained them courteously. Here Idmon, a soothsayer of their company, was slain by a wild boar; also here Typhis died, and Ancæus undertook to steer the ship. So they passed by the river Thermodon and mount Caucasus, and came to the river Phasis, which runs through the land of

Colchos. When they were entered the haven, Jason went to Æetes the king of Colchos, and told him the commandment of Pelias, and cause of his coming; desiring him to deliver the golden fleece, which Æetes, as the fable goeth, promised to do, if he alone would yoke together two brasen-hoofed bulls, and ploughing the ground with them sow dragon's teeth, which Minerva had given to him, being part of those which Cadmus did sow at Thebes. These bulls were great and fierce, and breathed out fire: Vulcan had given them to Æetes.

Whilst Jason was in a great perplexity about this task, Medea, the daughter of Æetes, fell into a most vehement love of him, so far forth, that being excellent in magic, she came privily to him, promising her help, if he would assure her of his marriage. To this Jason agreed, and confirmed his promise by oath. Then gave she to him a medicine, wherewith she bade him to anoint both his body and his armour, which would preserve him from their violence; further she told him, that armed men would arise out from the ground, from the teeth which he should sow, and set upon him. To remedy which inconvenience, she bade him throw stones amongst them as soon as they came up thick, whereupon they would fall together to blows, in such wise that he might easily slay them. Jason followed her counsel; whereto when the event had answered, he again demanded the fleece. But Æetes was so far from approving such his desire, that he devised how to destroy the Argonauts, and burn their ship; which Medea perceiving, went to Jason, and brought him by night to the fleece, which hung upon an oak in the grove of Mars, where they say it was kept by a dragon that never slept. This dragon was by the magic of Medea cast into a sleep; so taking away the golden fleece, she went with Jason into the ship Argo, having with her her brother Absyrtus.

Æetes understanding the practices of Medea, provided to pursue the ship; whom when Medea perceived to be at hand, she slew her brother, and cutting him in pieces, she scattered his limbs in divers places; of which Æetes finding

some, was fain to seek out the rest, and suffer his daughter to pass: the parts of his son he buried in a place which thereupon he called Tomi; the Greek word signifieth *division*. Afterwards he sent many of his subjects to seek the ship Argo, threatening that if they brought not back Medea, they should suffer in her stead. In the mean while the Argonauts were driven about the seas, and were come to the river Eridanus, which is Po in Italy.

Jupiter offended with the slaughter of Absyrtus vexed them with a great tempest, and carried them they knew not whither. When they came to the islands Absyrtides, there the ship Argo (that there might want no incredible thing in this fable) spake to them, and said, that the anger of Jupiter should not cease till they came to Ausonia, and were cleansed by Circe from the murder of Absyrtus. Now they thereupon sailing between the coasts of Libya and Gallia, and passing through the sea of Sardinia, and along the coast of Hetruria, came to the isle of Æea, wherein Circe dwelt, who cleansed them. Thence they sailed by the coast of the Sirens, who sang to allure them into danger; but Orpheus on the other side sang so well, that he stayed them. Only Butes swam out unto them, whom Venus ravished, and carried to Lilybæum in Sicily to dwell.

Having passed the Sirens, they came between Scylla and Charybdis, and the straggling rocks which seemed to cast out great store of flames and smoke. But Thetis and the Nereides conveyed them safe through at the appointment of Juno. So they coasted Sicily, where the beeves of the sun were, and touched at Corcyra, the island of the Phæaces, where king Alcinous reigned. Meanwhile the men of Colchos, that had been sent by Æetes in quest of the ship Argo, hearing no news of it, and fearing his anger if they fulfilled not his will, betook themselves to new habitations; some of them dwelt in the mountains of Corcyra, others in the islands Absyrtides, and some coming to the Phæaces, there found the ship Argo, and demanded Medea of Alcinous; whereto Alcinous made answer, that if she were not Jason's wife they should have her, but if she were already mar-

ried, he would not take her from her husband. Arete, the wife of Alcinous, hearing this, married them: wherefore they of Colchos not daring to return home, stayed with the Phæaces; so the Argonauts departed thence, and after a while came to Crete. In this island Minos reigned, who had a man of brass given to him (as some of the fablers say) by Vulcan. This man had one vein in his body reaching from the neck to the heel, the end whereof was closed up with a brasen nail; his name was Talus; his custom was to run thrice a day about the island for the defence of it. When he saw the ship Argo pass by, he threw stones at it; but Medea with her magic destroyed him. Some say, that she slew him by potions, which made him mad; others, that promising to make him immortal, she drew out the nail that stopped his vein, by which means all his blood ran out, and he died; others there are, that say he was slain by Pæan, who wounded him with an arrow in the heel. From hence the Argonauts sailed to Ægina, where they were fain to fight for fresh water. And lastly, from Ægina they sailed by Eubœa and Locris home to Iolchos, where they arrived, having spent four whole months in the expedition.

Some there are, that by this journey of Jason understand the mystery of the philosopher's stone, called the golden fleece; to which also other superfine chymists draw the twelve labours of Hercules. Suidas thinks, that by the golden fleece was meant a book of parchment, which is of sheep's skin, and therefore called golden, because it was taught therein how other metals might be transmuted. Others would signify by Jason, wisdom and moderation, which overcometh all perils; but that which is most probable is the opinion of Dercilus, that the story of such a passage was true, and that Jason with the rest went indeed to rob Colchos, to which they might arrive by boat. For not far from Caucasus there are certain steep falling torrents, which wash down many grains of gold, as in many other parts of the world; and the people there inhabiting use to set many fleeces of wool in those descents of waters,

in which the grains of gold remain, and the water passeth through; which Strabo witnesseth to be true. The many rocks, straits, sands, and currents, in the passage between Greece and the bottom of Pontus, are poetically converted into those fiery bulls, the armed men rising out of the ground, the dragon cast asleep, and the like. The man of brass, the Sirens, Scylla and Charybdis, were other hazards and adventures which they fell into in the Mediterranean sea, disguised, as the rest, by Orpheus, under poetical morals; all which Homer afterwards used (the man of brass excepted) in the description of Ulysses's travels on the same inland seas.

SECT. VII.

Of Abimelech, Tholah, and Jair, and of the Lapithæ, and of Theseus, Hippolytus, &c.

AFTER the death of Gideon, Abimelech his base son, begotten on a concubine of the Sechemites, remembering what offers had been made to his father by the people, who desired to make him and his their perpetual princes, and, as it seemeth, supposing (notwithstanding his father's religious modesty) that some of his brethren might take on them the sovereignty, practised with the inhabitants of Sechem (of which his mother was native) to make election of himself, who being easily moved with the glory to have a king of their own, readily condescended; and the better to enable Abimelech, they borrowed [d] seventy pieces of silver of their idol Baalberith, with which treasure he hired a company of loose and desperate vagabonds to assist his first detestable enterprise, to wit, the slaughter of his seventy brethren, the sons of Gideon, begotten on his wives, of which he had many; of all which none escaped but [e] Jotham the youngest, who hid himself from his present fury; all which he executed on one stone, a cruelty exceeding all that hath been written of in any age. Such is human ambition, a monster that neither feareth God, (though all powerful, and whose revenges are without date and for everlasting,) neither hath it respect to nature, which laboureth the preservation of

[d] Judges ix. 4. [e] Judges ix. 5.

every being; but it rageth also against her, though garnished with beauty which never dieth, and with love that hath no end. All other passions and affections, by which the souls of men are tormented, are by their contraries oftentimes resisted or qualified. But ambition, which begetteth every vice, and is itself the child and darling of Satan, looketh only towards the ends by itself set down, forgetting nothing (how fearful and inhuman soever) which may serve it; remembering nothing, whatsoever justice, piety, right, or religion can offer and allege, on the contrary. It ascribeth the lamentable effects of like attempts to the error or weakness of the undertakers, and rather praiseth the adventure than feareth the like success. It was the first sin that the world had, and began in angels; for which they were cast into hell, without hope of redemption. It was more ancient than man, and therefore no part of his natural corruption. The punishment also preceded his creation; yet hath the Devil, which felt the smart thereof, taught him to forget the one, as out of date, and to practise the other, as befitting every age and man's condition.

Jotham, the youngest of Gideon's sons, having escaped the present peril, sought by his best persuasions to alienate the Sechemites from the assisting of this merciless tyrant, letting them know, that those which were virtuous, and whom reason and religion had taught the safe and happy estate of moderate subjection, had refused to receive, as unlawful, what others had not power to give without direction from the King of kings; who from the beginning (as to his own peculiar people) had appointed them, by whom and how to be governed. This he taught them by the olive, which contented itself with its fatness, the fig-tree with sweetness, and the vine with the good juice it had; the bramble only, who was most base, cut down all the rest, and accepted the sovereignty. He also foretold them by a prophetical spirit what should befall them in the end, and how a fire should come out of the bramble and consume the cedars of Libanon.

Now (as it is an easy matter to call those men back whom

rage without right led on) Gaal the son of Ebed withdrew the citizens of Sechem from the service of Abimelech; who therefore, after some assaults, entered the place, and mastered it; and in conclusion fired the town, wherein their idol Baalberith was worshipped, and put all the people of all sorts to the slaughter. Lastly, in the assault of the castle or tower of Teber, himself was wounded in the head with a stone thrown over the wall by a woman; and finding himself mortally bruised, he commanded his own page to pierce his body, thereby to avoid the dishonour of being slain by so feeble a hand.

While Abimelech usurped the government, the Lapithæ and Centaurs made war against the Thebans. These nations were descended of Apollo, and were the first in those parts that devised to manage horses, to bridle and to sit them: insomuch, as when they first came down from the mountains of Pindus into the plains, those which had never seen horsemen before, thought them creatures compounded of men and horses: so did the [f]Mexicans, when Ferdinando Cortes the Spaniard first invaded that empire.

After the death of Abimelech, Thola of Issachar governed Israel 23 years, and after him Jair the Gileadite 22 years, who seemeth to be descended of Jair the son of Manasse, who in Moses's time conquered a great part of Gilead, and called the same after his own name, [g]Habeth Jair. For to this Jair there remained [h]thirty of those cities which his ancestor had recovered from the Amorites. Of these judges because there is nothing else written, it is an argument that during all their times Israel lived without disturbance and in peace.

When Jair judged Israel, Priamus began to reign in Troy, who, at such time as Hercules sacked Ilium, was carried away captive with his sister Hesione into Greece, and being afterwards redeemed for ransom, he rebuilt and greatly strengthened and adorned Troy; and so far enlarged his dominions, as he became the supreme lord in

[f] Palæphatus, l. 1. de Incredib.
[g] Deut. iii. 14. Numb. xii. 41.
[h] Judges x.

effect of all Asia the Less. He married Hecuba, the daughter of Cisseus, king of Thrace, and had in all (saith [i] Cicero) fifty sons, whereof seventeen by Hecuba, of whom Paris was one; who, attempting to recover his aunt Hesione, took Helena, the wife of Menelaus, the cause of the war which followed.

Theseus, the tenth king of Athens, began likewise to reign in the beginning of Jair: some writers call him the son of Neptune and Æthra; but Plutarch, in the story of his life, finds him begotten by Ægeus, of whom the Grecian sea between it and Asia the Less took name. For when Minos had mastered the Athenians so far, as he forced them to pay him seven of their sons every year for tribute, whom he enclosed within a labyrinth, to be devoured by the monster Minotaur; because belike the sons of Taurus, which he begat on Pasiphaë the queen, had the charge of them; among these seven Theseus thrust himself, not doubting by his valour to deliver the rest, and to free his country of that slavery occasioned for the death of Androgeus, Minos's son.

And having possessed himself of Ariadne's affection, who was Minos's daughter, he received from her a bottom of thread, by which he conducted himself through all the crooked and inextricable turnings of the labyrinth, made in all like that of the city of crocodiles in Egypt; by mean whereof, having slain Minotaur, he found a ready way to return. But whereas his father Ægeus had given order, that if he came back with victory and in safety he should use a white sail in sign thereof, and not that mournful black sail under which they left the port of Athens; this instruction being either forgotten or neglected, Ægeus descrying the ship of Theseus with a black sail, cast himself over the rocks into the sea, afterward called of his name Ægeum.

One of the first famous acts of Theseus was the killing of Scyron, who kept a passage between Megara and the Peloponnesian isthmus, and threw all whom he mastered into

[i] In Tusc.

the sea from the high rocks. Afterward he did the like to Cercyon by wrestling, who used by that art to kill others. He also rid the country of Procrustes, who used to bend down the strong limbs of two trees, and fastened by cords such as he took, part of them to one and part to the other bough, and by their springing back tare them asunder. So did he root out Periphetes, and other mischievous thieves and murderers. He overthrew the army of the Amazons, who, after many victories and vastations, entered the territory of Athens. Theseus, having taken their queen Hippolyta prisoner, begat on her Hippolytus; with whom afterward his mother-in-law Phædra falling in love, and he refusing to abuse his father's bed, Phædra persuaded Theseus that his son offered to force her; after which it is feigned, that Theseus besought Neptune to revenge this wrong of his son's by some violent death. Neptune, taking a time of advantage, sent out his sea-calves, as Hippolytus passed by the sea-shore, and so affrighted his horses, as casting the coach over, he was (by being entangled therein) torn in pieces; which miserable and undeserved destiny when Phædra had heard of, she strangled herself. After which it is feigned, that Diana entreated Æsculapius to set Hippolytus's pieces together, and to restore him to life; which done, because he was chaste, she led him with her into Italy, to accompany her in her hunting and field sports.

It is probable that Hippolytus, when his father sought his life, thinking to escape by sea, was affronted thereat, and received many wounds in forcing his passage and escape, which wounds Æsculapius, to wit, some skilful physician or chirurgeon, healed again; after which he passed into Italy, where he lived with Diana, that is, the life of a hunter, in which he most delighted. But of these ancient profane stories, Plutarch saith well, that as cosmographers in their descriptions of the world, where they find many vast places, whereof they know nothing, fill the same with strange beasts, birds, and fishes, and with mathematical lines; so do the Grecian historians and poets embroider and intermix the tales of ancient times with a world of fictions and fabulous

discourses. True it is, that Theseus did many great things in imitation of Hercules, whom he made his pattern, and was the first that gathered the Athenians from being dispersed in thin and ragged villages: in recompense whereof, and for devising them laws to live under, and in order, he was, by the beggarly, mutable, and ungrateful multitude, in the end banished: some say *per ostracismum*, by the law of lots, or names written on shells, which was a device of his own.

He stole Helen (as they say) when she was fifteen years old, from Aphidna, which city Castor and Pollux overturned, when they followed after Theseus to recover their sister. [k] Erasistratus and Pausanias write, that Theseus begat her with child at Argos, where she erected a temple to Lucina; but her age makes that tale unlikely to be true; and so doth Ovid, *Non tamen ex facto fructum tulit ille petitum*, &c. The rape [l] Eusebius finds in the first of [m] Jair, who governed Israel twenty-two years, to whom succeeded Jephta, or Jepte, six years, to whom Ibzan, who ruled seven years, and then Habdon eight years; in whose time was the fall of Troy. So as, if Theseus had a child by her in the first of Jair, (at which time we must count her no less than fifteen year old; for the women did not commonly begin so young as they do now,) she was then at least fifty-two year old at the destruction of Troy; and when she was stolen by Paris, thirty-eight; but herein the chronologers do not agree. Yet [n] Eusebius and Bunting, with Halicarnasseus, do in effect consent that the city was entered and burnt in the first year of Demophoon, king of Athens, the successor of Mnestheus, the successor of Theseus, seventeen days before the summer tropic; and that about the 11th of September following the Trojans crossed the Hellespont into Thrace, and wintered there; and in the next spring, that they navigated into Sicilia, where wintering the second year, the next summer they arrived at

[k] Strab. l. 9. Paus. in Con.
[l] In Epist. Helen.
[m] Judges x. 3.
[n] Bunt. Chron. Euseb. Chron. Hal. l. 1.

Laurentum, and builded Lavinium. But [o]St. Augustine hath it otherwise, that when Polyphides governed Sicyon, Mnestheus Athens, Tautanes Assyria, Habdon Israel, then Æneas arrived in Italy, transporting with him in twenty ships the remainder of the Trojans; but the difference is not great: and hereof more at large in the story of Troy at hand.

In Sicyonia, Phæstus, the two and twentieth king, reigned eight years, beginning by the common account in the time of Thola. His successors, Adrastus, who reigned four years, and Polyphides, who reigned thirteen, are accounted to the time of Jair; so is also Mnestheus, king of Athens, and Atreus, who held a great part of Peloponnesus. In Assyria, during the government of these two peaceable judges, Mitreus, and after him Tautanes, reigned. In Egypt, Amenophis, the son of Ramses, and afterwards Annemenes.

SECT. VIII.

Of the war of Thebes, which was in this age.

IN this age was the war of Thebes, the most ancient that ever Greek poet or historian wrote of. Wherefore the Roman poet Lucretius, affirming (as the Epicures in this point held truly against the Peripatetics) that the world had a beginning, urgeth them with this objection.

——— Si nulla fuit genitalis origo
Rerumque et mundi, semperque æterna fuere;
Cur supra bellum Thebanum, et funera Trojæ,
Non alias alii quoque res cecinere poetæ?

If all this world had no original,
But things have ever been as now they are:
Before the siege of Thebes, or Troy's last fall,
Why did no poet sing some elder war?

It is true, that in these times Greece was very savage, the inhabitants being often chased from place to place by the captains of greater tribes; and no man thinking the ground whereon he dwelt his own longer than he could hold it by strong hand. Wherefore merchandise and other intercourse

[o] Aug. de Civitate Dei, l. 18. c. 19.

they used little, neither did they plant many trees, or sow more corn than was necessary for their sustenance. Money they had little or none; for it is thought that the name of money was not heard in Greece when Homer did write, who measures the value of gold and brass by the worth in cattle; saying, that the golden armour of Glaucus was worth 100 beeves, and the copper armour of Diomedes worth nine.

Robberies by land and sea were common, and without shame; and to steal horses or kine was the usual exercise of their great men. Their towns were not many, whereof those that were walled were very few, and not great. For Mycenæ, the principal city in Peloponnesus, was a very little thing, and it may well be thought that the rest were proportionable. Briefly, Greece was then in her infancy; and though in some small towns of that half isle of Peloponnesus, the inhabitants might have enjoyed quietness within their narrow bounds; as likewise did the Athenians, because their country was so barren that none did care to take it from them; yet that the land in general was very rude, it will easily appear to such as consider what Thucydides, the greatest of their historians, hath written to this effect, in the preface to his history. Wherefore, as in these latter times, idle chroniclers use, when they want good matter, to fill whole books with reports of great frosts or dry summers, and other such things which no man cares to read; so did they who spake of Greece in her beginnings remember only the great floods which were in the times of Ogyges and Deucalion, or else rehearse fables of men changed into birds, of strange monsters, of adultery committed by their gods, and the mighty men which they begat; without writing ought that savoured of humanity, before the time of the war of Thebes; the brief whereof is this.

Œdipus, the son of Laius king of Thebes, having been cast forth when he was an infant, because an oracle foretold what evil should come to pass by him, did afterwards, in a narrow passage contending for the way, slay his own father,

not knowing, either then or long after, who he was. Afterward he became king of Thebes, by marriage of the queen Jocasta, called by Homer, Od. 11. Epicaste; on whom, not knowing her to be his mother, he begat two sons, Eteocles and Polynices. But when in process of time, finding out by good circumstances who were his parents, he understood the grievous murder and incest he had committed, he tore out his own eyes for grief, and left the city. His wife and mother did hang herself. Some say that Œdipus having his eyes pulled out, was expelled Thebes, bitterly cursing his sons, because they suffered their father to be cast out of the town, and aided him not. Howsoever it were, his two sons made this agreement, that the one of them should reign one year, and the other another year, and so by course rule interchangeably; but this appointment was ill observed. For when Polynices had, after a year's government, resigned the kingdom to his brother, or (according to others) when Eteocles had reigned the first year, he refused to give over the rule to Polynices. Hereupon Polynices fled unto Argos, where Adrastus, the son of Talaus, then reigned, unto whose palace coming by night, he was driven to seek lodging in an outhouse on the backside.

There he met with Tydeus, the son of Œneus, who was fled from Calydon; with whom, striving about their lodging, he fell to blows. Adrastus hearing the noise came forth, and took up the quarrel. At which time perceiving in the shield of Tydeus a boar, in that of Polynices a lion, he remembered an old oracle, by which he was advised to give his two daughters in marriage to a lion and a boar; and accordingly he did bestow his daughter Argia upon Tydeus, and Deipyle upon Polynices, promising to restore them both to their countries. To this purpose levying an army, and assembling as many valiant captains as he could draw to follow him, he was desirous, among others, to carry Amphiaraus, the son of Oicleus, a great soothsayer and a valiant man, along with him. But Amphiaraus, who is said to have foreseen all things, knowing well that none of

the captains should escape, save only Adrastus, did both utterly refuse to be one in that expedition, and persuaded others to stay at home. Polynices therefore dealt with Eriphyle, the wife of Amphiaraus, offering unto her a very fair bracelet, upon condition that she should cause her husband to assist him. The soothsayer, knowing what should work his destiny, forbade his wife to take any gift of Polynices. But the bracelet was in her eyes so precious a jewel, that she could not refuse it. Therefore, whereas a great controversy between Amphiaraus and Adrastus was by way of compromise put unto the decision of Eryphile, either of them being bound by solemn oath to stand to her appointment: she ordered the matter so as a woman should, that loved a bracelet better than her husband. He now finding that it was more easy to foresee than avoid destiny, sought such comfort as revenge might afford; giving in charge to his sons, that when they came to full age they should kill their mother, and make strong war upon the Thebans.

Now had Adrastus assembled all his forces, of which the seven chief leaders were, himself, Amphiaraus, Capaneus, and Hippomedon, (instead of whom some name Mecisteus,) all Argives, with Polynices the Theban, Tydeus the Ætolian, and Parthenopæus the Arcadian, son of Meleager and Atalanta. When the army came to the Nemæan wood, they met a woman, whom they desired to help them to some water; she having a child in her arms, laid it down, and led the Argives to a spring; but ere she returned, a serpent had slain the child. This woman was Hypsipyle, the daughter of Thoas the Lemnian, whom she would have saved when the women of the isle slew all the males by conspiracy, intending to lead an Amazonian life. For such her piety, the Lemnian wives did sell her to pirates, and the pirates to Lycurgus, lord of the country about Nemæa, whose young son Opheltes, or Archemorus, she did nurse, and lost, as is shewed before. When upon the child's death she hid herself for fear of her master, Amphiaraus told her sons where they should find her; and the Argives did both kill the serpent which had slain the child, and [redacted]

of the chance did institute solemn funeral games called Nemæan, wherein Adrastus won the prize with his swift horse Arion, Tydeus with whirlbats, Amphiaraus at running and quoiting, Polynices at wrestling, Parthenopæus at shooting, and one Laodocus in darting. This was the first institution of the Nemæan games, which continued after famous in Greece for very many ages. There are who think that they were ordained in honour of one Opheltus, a Lacedæmonian; some say by Hercules, when he had slain the Nemæan lion; but the common opinion agrees with that which is here set down.

From Nemæa, the Argives marching onwards arrived at Citheron, whence Tydeus was by them sent ambassador to Thebes, to require of Eteocles the performance of covenants between him and Polynices. This message was nothing agreeable to Eteocles, who was thoroughly resolved to hold what he had as long as he could: which Tydeus perceiving, and intending partly to get honour, partly to try what mettle was in the Thebans, he made many challenges, and obtained victory in all of them, not without much envy and malice of the people, who laid fifty men in ambush to intercept him at his return to the army; of which fifty he slew all but one, whom he sent back to the city, as a reporter and witness of his valour. When the Argives understood how resolved Eteocles was, they presented themselves before the city, and encamped round about it. Thebes is said to have had at that time seven gates, which belike stood not far asunder, seeing that the Argives (who afterward, when they were very far stronger, could scarce muster up more thousands than Thebes had gates) did compass the town. Adrastus quartered before the gate Homoloides, Capaneus before the Ogygean, Tydeus before Crenis, Amphiaraus at Proetis, Hippomedon at Anchais, Parthenopæus at Electra, and Polynices at Hypsista. In the mean season, Eteocles, having armed his men, and appointed commanders unto them, took advice of Tiresias the soothsayer, who promised victory to the Thebans, if Menœcius, the son of Creon, a principal man of the city, would vow himself to be slain in honour of

Mars the god of war. So full of malice and pride is the Devil, and so envious at his Creator's glory, that he not only challengeth honours due to God alone, as oblations and sacrifices, with all divine worship, but commandeth us to offer ourselves and our children unto him, when he hath sufficiently clouded men's understanding, and bewitched their wills with ignorance and blind devotion. And such abominable sacrifice of men, maids, and children hath he exacted of the Syrians, Carthaginians, Gauls, Germans, Cyprians, Egyptians, and of many other, if not of all nations, when through ignorance or fear they were most filled with superstition. But as they grew more wise, so did he wax less impudent in cunning, though not less malicious in desiring the continuance of such barbarous inhumanity. For king Diphilus in Cyprus, without advice of any oracle, made the idol of that country rest contented with an ox instead of a man. Tiberius forbade human sacrifices in Afric; and crucified the priests in the groves where they had practised them. Hercules taught the Italians to drown men of hay instead of the living; yet among the savages in the West Indies these cruel offerings have been practised of late ages; which as it is a sufficient argument that Satan's malice is only covered and hidden by this subtlety among civil people, so may it serve as a probable conjecture of the barbarisms then reigning in Greece. For Menœcius, as soon as he understood that his death might purchase victory to his people, bestowed himself (as he thought) upon Mars, killing himself before the gates of the city. Then was a battle fought, wherein the Argives prevailed so far at the first, that Capaneus, advancing ladders to the walls, got up upon the rampart; whence, when he fell, or was cast down, or (as writers have it) was stricken down by Jupiter with a thunderbolt, the Argives fled. Many on each part were slain in this battle, which caused both sides to desire that Eteocles and Polynices might try out the quarrel in single fight; where the two brethren accordingly slew each other.

Another battle was fought after their death, wherein the

sons of Astacus behaved themselves very valiantly: Ismarus, one of the sons, slew Hippomedon, which was one of the seven princes; Parthenopæus, being another of the seven, (who was said to have been so fair that none would hurt him when his face was bare,) was slain by Amphidicus, or, as some say, by Periclymenus, the son of Neptune; and the valiant Tydeus by Menalippus; yet ere Tydeus died, the head of Menalippus was brought unto him by Amphiaraus, which he cruelly tore open, and swallowed up the brains. Upon which fact, it is said, that Pallas, who had brought from Jupiter such remedy for his wound as should have made him immortal, refused to bestow it upon him; whereby perhaps was meant, that his honour, which might have continued immortal, did perish through the beastly rage that he shewed at his death.

The host of the Argives being wholly discomfited, Adrastus and Amphiaraus fled; of whom Amphiaraus is said to have been swallowed quick into the earth, near to the river Ismenus, together with his chariot, and so lost out of men's sight, being peradventure overwhelmed with dead carcasses or drowned in the river, and his body never found, nor greatly sought for. Adrastus escaped on his good horse Arion, and came to Athens; where sitting at an altar, called the altar of mercy, he made supplication for their aid to recover their bodies. For Creon having obtained the government of Thebes, after the death of Eteocles, would not suffer the bodies of the Argives to be buried; but caused Antigone, the only daughter then living of Œdipus, to be buried quick, because she had sought out and buried the body of her brother Polynices, contrary to Creon's edict. The Athenians condescending to the request of Adrastus, did send forth an army under the conduct of Theseus, which took Thebes, and restored the bodies of the Argives to sepulchre; at which time Evadne, the wife of Capaneus, threw herself into the funeral fire, and was burnt willingly with her husband. But it little contented the sons of those captains which were slain at Thebes, that any less revenge should be taken of their fathers' death than the ruin of the

city; wherefore ten years after having levied forces, Ægialeus the son of Adrastus, Diomedes of Tydeus, Promachus of Parthenopæus, Sthenelus of Capaneus, Thersander of Polynices, and Euripylus of Mecisteus, marched thither under the conduct of Alcmæon the son of Amphiaraus; with whom also went his brother Amphiloctus. Apollo promised victory if Alcmæon were their captain, whom afterward by another oracle he commanded to kill his own mother.

When they came to the city, they were encountered by Laodamas the son of Eteocles, then king of the Thebans, (for Creon was only tutor to Laodamas,) who though he did valiantly in the battle, and slew Ægialeus, yet was he put to the worst, and driven to fly, or (according to Apollodorus) slain by Alcmæon. After this disaster the citizens began to desire composition; but in the mean time they conveyed themselves with their wives and children away from thence by night, and so began to wander up and down, till at length they built the town called Estiæa. The Argives, when they perceived that their enemies had quitted the town, entering into it, sacked it, threw down the walls, and laid it waste; howbeit it is reported by some, that the town was saved by Thersander, the son of Polynices, who, causing the citizens to return, did there reign over them. That he saved the city from utter destruction, it is very likely, for he reigned there, and led the Thebans to the war of Troy, which very shortly after ensued.

SECT. IX.

Of Jephta, and how the three hundred years which he speaketh of, Judg. xi. 28, *are to be reconciled with the places,* Acts xiii. 20. 1 Kings vi. 1; *together with some other things touching chronology about these times.*

AFTER the death of Jair, (near about whose times these things happened in Greece, and during whose government, and that of Thola, Israel lived in peace and in order,) they revolted again from the law and service of God, and became more wicked and idolatrous than ever. For where-

as in the former times they worshipped [p] Baal and Asteroth, they now became followers of all the heathen nations adjoining, and embraced the idols of the Aramites, of the Zidonians, Moabites, and Ammonites; with those of the Philistines. And as before it pleased God to correct them by the Aramites, by the Amalekites, and Midianites; so now he scourged them by the [q] Ammonites, and afterward by the Philistines.

Now among the Israelites, those of Gilead being most oppressed, because they bordered upon the Ammonites, they were enforced to seek Jephta, whom they had formerly despised and cast from them, because he was base born; but he (notwithstanding those former injuries) participating more of godly compassion than of devilish hatred and revenge, was content to lead the Gileadites to the war, upon condition that they should establish him their governor after victory. And when he had disputed with Ammon for the land, disproved Ammon's right, and fortified the title of Israel by many arguments, the same prevailing nothing, he began the war; and being strengthened by God, overthrew them; and did not only beat them out of the plains, but forced them over the mountains of Arabia, even to [r] Minnith, and Abel of the vineyards, cities expressed heretofore in the description of the Holy Land. After which victory, it is said that he performed the vain vow which he made, to sacrifice the first living creature he encountered coming out of his house to meet him; which happened to be his own daughter, and only child, who with all patience submitted herself, and only desired two months time to bewail her virginity on the mountains of Gilead, because in her the issues of her father ended; but the other opinion, that she was not offered, is more probable, which [s] Borræus and others prove sufficiently.

After these things the children of Israel, of the tribe of Ephraim, either envious of Jephta's victory, or otherwise

[p] Judg. x.

[q] The persecution of the Ammonites lasted eighteen years, and ended in the year of the world 2820, in which year Jephta began, Judg. xi.

[r] Judg. xi. 33.

[s] Bor. in Judg.

making way to their future calamity, and to the most grievous slavery that ever Israel suffered, quarrelled with Jephta, that they were not called to the war, as beforetime they had contested with Gideon. Jephta hereupon enforced to defend himself against their fury, in the encounter slew of them [t] 42,000, which so weakened the body of the land, as the Philistines had an easy conquest of them all not long after: Jephta, after he had judged Israel six years, died; to whom succeeded Ibzan, who ruled seven years; after him Elon was their judge ten years; in all which time Israel had peace. Eusebius finds not Elon, whom he calleth Adon; for in the Septuagint, approved in his time, this judge was omitted.

Now before I go on with the rest, it shall be necessary upon the occasion of Jephta's account of the times, Judg. xi. 28. (where he says that Israel had then possessed the east side of Jordan 300 years,) to speak somewhat of the times of the judges, and of the differing opinions among the divines and chronologers; there being found three places of scripture, touching this point, seeming repugnant, or disagreeing: the first is in this dispute between Jephta and Ammon, for the right and possession of Gilead; the second is that of St. Paul, Acts xiii; the third that which is in the first of Kings. Jephta here challengeth the possession of Gilead for 300 years: St. Paul giveth to the judges, as it seems, from the end of Joshua to the last of Heli, 450 years. In the first of Kings it is taught that, from the departing of Israel out of Egypt to the foundation of Solomon's temple, there were consumed 480 years. To the first, Beroaldus findeth Jephta's 300 years to be but 266 years, to wit, eighteen of Joshua, forty of Othoniel, eighty of Aod and Samgar, forty of Deborah, forty of Gideon, three of Abimelech, twenty-three of Thola, and twenty-two of Jair; but Jephta (saith Beroaldus) [u] putteth or proposeth a certain number for an uncertain: *Sic ut dicat annum agi prope trecentesimum, ex quo nullus litem ea de re moverit Israeli;* "So he

[t] Judg. xii. [u] Id facit numero certo pro incerto proposito.

"speaketh," saith he, "as meaning, that then it was about "or well nigh the three hundredth year since Israel pos- "sessed those countries, no man making question of their "right." Codoman, on the contrary, finds more years than Jephta named by sixty-five, to wit, 365, whereof seventy-one were spent in Israel's captivity, at several times, of which (as Codoman thinketh) Jephta forbare to repeat the whole sum, or any great part, lest the Ammonite should have justly objected that seventy-one of those years the Israelites were in captivity and vassals to their neighbour princes, and therefore, knowing that to name 300 years it was enough for prescription, he omitted the rest.

To justify this account of 365 years, besides the seventy-one years of captivity or affliction to be added to Beroaldus's 266, he addeth also twenty-eight years more, and so maketh up the sum of 365. These twenty-eight years he findeth out thus; twenty years he gives to the seniors between Joshua and Othoniel; and where Beroaldus alloweth but eighteen years to Joshua's government, Codoman accounts that his rule lasted twenty-six according to Josephus; whereas St. Augustine and Eusebius give him twenty-seven, Melanchton thirty-two. The truth is, that this addition of twenty-eight years is far more doubtful than the other of seventy-one. But though we admit not of this addition, yet by accounting of some part of the years of affliction, (to wit, thirty-four years of the seventy-one,) if we add them to the 266 years of Beroaldus, which reckoneth none of these, we have the just number of 300 years. Neither is it strange that Jephta should leave out more than half of these years of affliction; seeing, as it is already said, the Ammonites might except against these seventy-one years, and say, that during these years, or at least a good part of them, the Israelites had no quiet possession of the countries in question. Martin Luther is the author of a third opinion, making those 300 years remembered by Jephta, to be 306, which odd years, saith he, Jephta omitteth. But because the years of every judge, as they reigned, cannot make up this number of 306, but do only compound

266, therefore doth Luther add to this number the whole time which Moses spent in the deserts of Arabia Petræa; which forty years of Moses, added to the number which Beroaldus findeth of 266, make indeed 306.

But I see nothing in the text to warrant Luther's judgment herein; for, in the dispute between Jephta and Ammon for the land of Gilead, it is written in the person of Ammon in these words; [v] *Because Israel took my land, when they came up from Egypt, from Arnon unto Jaboc,* &c. *now therefore restore those lands quietly, or in peace.* So by this place it is plain, that the time is not to be accounted from Moses's departure out of Egypt, but from the time that the land was possessed. For it is said, *Quia cepit Israel terram meam;* "Because Israel took my land;" and therefore the beginning of this account is to be referred to the time of the taking, which Jephta's answer also confirmeth in these words; [x] *When Israel dwelt in Heshbon and in her towns, and in Aroer and in her towns, and in all the cities that are by the coast of Arnon* 300 *years: why did ye not then recover them in that space?* So as this place speaks it directly, that Israel had inhabited and dwelt in the cities of Gilead 300 years; and therefore to account the times from the hopes or intents, that Israel had to possess it, it seemeth somewhat strained to me; for we do not use to reckon the time of our conquests in France, from our princes' intents or purposes, but from their victories and possessions.

Junius nevertheless likes the opinion of Luther, and says, that this time of 300 years hath reference, and is to take beginning from the first of Jephta's narration; when he makes a brief repetition of Moses's whole journey, to wit, at the 16th verse of the eleventh chapter of Judges in our translation, in these words; [y] *But when Israel came up from Egypt,* &c. And therefore Moses's forty years (as he thinks) are to be accounted, which make the number of 305 years; and not only the time in which Israel possessed Gilead, according to the text, and Jephta's own words, of

[v] Judg. xi. 13. [x] Judg. xi. 26. [y] Junius in the 11th of Judg. note.

which I leave the judgment to others; to whom also I leave to judge, whether we may not begin the 480 years from the deliverance out of Egypt to the temple, even from the first departure out of Egypt, and yet find a more probable reconciliation of St. Paul's and Jephta's account with this reckoning, than any of those that as yet have been signified. For first, touching Jephta's 300 years of possession of the east side of Jordan, it is to be remembered, that for a good while before the Israelites possessed it, Sehon and Og had dispossessed Moab and Ammon thereof; so that when the Israelites had conquered Sehon and Og, the right of possession which they had, passed to Israel; and so Jephta might say, that they had possessed those countries 300 years, reckoning 266 years of their own possession, and the rest of the possession of the two kings Sehon and Og, whose right the Israelites had by the law of conquest.

The second place disputed is this of St. Paul, Acts xiii. that from the end of [z] Joshua to the beginning of Samuel there passed 450 years. And this place Luther understandeth also besides the letter, as I find his opinion cited by Functius Krentsemius and Beza, for I have not read his commentaries. For he accounteth from the death of Moses to the last year of Heli but 357 years; and this he doth, the better to approve the times from the egression out of Egypt to the building of the temple, which in 1 Kings vi. is said to be 480 years.

Now forasmuch as St. Paul (as it seems) finds 450 years from the death of Joshua to the last of Heli, and leaves but thirty years for Saul and Samuel, who governed forty, for David who ruled forty, and for Salomon who ware the crown three whole years ere the foundation of the temple was laid; therefore Luther takes it, that there was error in the scribe who wrate out this piece of scripture of St. Paul, to wit, [a] *Then afterward he gave unto them judges about* 450 *years, unto the time of Samuel the pro-*

[z] Read the 24th of Joshua, and 2 Judg. vii. Funct. Chron. fol. 4. Beza in his Annotations upon the 13th of the Acts, ver. 20.

[a] Acts xiii. 20.

phet; the words *then afterwards* being clearly referred to the death or after the death of Joshua, as shall be hereafter proved. But where St. Luke, rehearsing the words of St. Paul, wrate 350 years, (saith Luther,) the scribe in the transcription being deceived by the affinity of those two Greek words, whereof the one signifieth 300, and the other 400, wrate *tetracosiois* for *triacosiois*, 400 years for 300 years, and 450 for 350. This he seeketh to strengthen by many arguments; to which opinion Beza, in his great annotations, adhereth. A contrary judgment to this hath Codoman; where Luther and Beza begin at Moses's death, he takes his account from the death of Joshua, and from thence to the beginning of Samuel he makes 430 years, to wit, of the judges (not reckoning Samson's years) 319, and of years of servitude and affliction under strangers 111. The reason why he doth not reckon Samson's twenty years is, because he thinks that they were part of the forty years in which the Philistines are said to have oppressed Israel. For it is plain, that during all [b] Samson's time they were lords over Israel. So then of the judges, besides the 111 years of servitude, Codoman reckoneth (as I have said) 319 years, which two sums put together make 430 years; and whereas St. Paul nameth 450 years, he finds twenty years to make up St. Paul's number, to have been spent after the death of Joshua by the seniors, before the captivity of Chushan or the election of Othoniel; which twenty years added to 430 make 450, according to St. Paul. To approve this time of the elders he citeth two places of scriptures, namely, the 24th of Joshua, and the 2nd of Judges, in each of which places it is written, that *Israel served the Lord all the days of Joshua, and all the days of the elders that over-lived Joshua,* so as to these times of the elders Codoman giveth twenty years, which make as before 450, according to St. Paul. Neither would it breed any great difficulty in this opinion, if here also the twenty years of the seniors, between Joshua and Othoniel, should be denied. For they which deny these years, and make

[b] Judg. xiii. xv. 11.

Othoniel's forty to begin presently upon the death of Joshua, as in the beginning of this reckoning they have twenty years less than Codoman, so towards the end of it (when they reckon the years of affliction apart from the years of the judges) in the number of Samson's years, and of the forty years of the Philistines oppressing the Israelites, they have twenty years more than Codoman. For they reckon these forty years of oppression all of them apart from Samson's twenty; but Codoman, as is said, makes Samson's twenty to be the one half of the forty of the Philistines' oppressions; so that if the twenty years of the seniors be not allowed to Codoman, then he may reckon (as the letter of the text seems to enforce) that the Philistines in an interregnum, before Samson judged Israel, vexed the Israelites forty years, besides the twenty while Samson was their judge, and so the reckoning will come to 450 years between the end of Joshua and the beginning of Samuel, though we admit not of any interregnum of the seniors between Joshua and Othoniel: for if the times of their affliction be summed, they make 111 years, to which if we add the years of the judges, which are 339, we have the just sum of 450. And this computation, either one way or other, may seem to be much more probable, than theirs that correct the text, although we should admit of their correction thereof, and read with them 350 for 450. For whereas they conceive that this time of 350 years is to begin immediately, or soon after the death of Moses; certainly the place of St. Paul doth evidently teach the contrary, though it be received for true, that there was *vitium scriptoris* in the rest. For these be St. Paul's words; *And about the time of forty years, God suffered their manners in the wilderness; and he destroyed seven nations in the land of Canaan, and divided their land to them by lot. Then afterward he gave unto them judges about* 450 *years, unto the time of Samuel the prophet.* So as first in the 18th verse he speaketh of Moses, and of his years spent in the wilderness, then in the 19th verse he cometh to the acts of Joshua; which were, that he destroyed seven nations

in the land of [c] Canaan, and divided their land to them by lot. In the 20th verse it followeth, *Then afterwards he gave them judges about* 450 *years*, &c. And therefore to reckon from the death of Moses is wide of St. Paul's meaning, so far as my weak understanding can pierce it. The only inconvenience of any weight in the opinion of Codoman, touching this place in the Acts, is, that it seems irreconcileable with the account, 1 Kings vi. 11. For if indeed there were spent 450 years between the end of Joshua and the beginning of Samuel, certainly there must needs be much more than 480 years between the beginning of the Israelites journeying from Egypt, and the foundation of the temple by Salomon. To this difficulty Codoman answereth, that these 480 years, 1 Kings vi. 1, must begin to be reckoned, not in the beginning, but in the ending of their journeying from Egypt, which he makes to be twenty-five years after the beginning of Othoniel's government; from whence if we cast the years of the judges with the years of servitude, (which sums, according to his account, of which we have already spoken, make 397 years,) and so to these years add the forty of Samuel and Saul, and the forty of David, and the three of Salomon, we shall have the just sum of 480 years. Neither is it hard, saith he, that the *annus egressionis*, 1 Reg. vi. 1, should be understood *egressionis non incipientis sed finitæ*, the year of their coming out of Egypt, (for so it is in the original,) or the year after they came out of Egypt, may well be understood for the year after they were come out thence, that is, after they had ended their wandering from thence. For so we find that things, which were done forty years after they had set foot out of Egypt, are said to have been done in their going out of Egypt, as Psalm cxiv. *When Israel came out of Egypt, Jordan was driven back.* And Deut. iv. 45. *These are the testimonies which Moses spake when they came out of Egypt.* And thus far it seems we may very well agree with Codoman for the interpretation of the word *ab exitu*, to be as much as *quum exivissent*, or *ab*

[c] Josh. xiv. 1.

exitu finito: for if Junius, Deut. iv. 45, do well read *quum exivissent* for *in exitu*, as it seems that herein he doth well, why may not we also, to avoid contradiction in the scripture, expound *ab exitu* to be *postquam exivissent?*

The next point to be cleared is, how their journeying should be said not to have had end until the twenty-fifth year after the victory of Othoniel. To this Codoman answereth, that then it had no end till when all the tribes had obtained their portions, which happened not until this time; at which time the Danites at length seated themselves, as it is declared, Judg. xviii; for doubtless to this time the expedition may most conveniently be referred. And thus, without any great inconvenience to him appearing, doth Codoman reconcile the account of Jephta, Judg. xviii. 1, and St. Paul, with that in 1 Kings vi. Now whereas it is said, that the expedition of the Danites was when there was no king in Israel; to this Codoman answereth, that it is not necessary that we should suppose that Othoniel lived all those forty years of rest, of which Judg. iii. 11. So that by the twenty-five years after his victory, either he might have been dead, or at least, as Gideon did, he might have refused all sovereignty; and so either way it might truly be said, that at this time (to wit, the twenty-fifth year after Othoniel's victory) there was no king in Israel. This opinion of Codoman, if it were as consonant to other chronologers grounding their opinions on the plain text where it is indisputable, as it is in itself round enough and coherent, might perhaps be received as good; especially considering that the speeches of St. Paul have not otherwise found any interpretation, maintaining them as absolutely true, in such manner as they sound and are set down. But seeing that he wanteth all help of authority, we may justly suspect the supposition whereupon his opinion is grounded; it being such as the consent of many authors would hardly suffice to make very probable. For who hath told Codoman that the conquest of Laish, by the tribe of Dan, was performed in the five and twentieth year of Othoniel? Or what other probability hath he than his own conjecture, to shew that

Othoniel did so renounce the office of a judge after five and twenty years, that it might then be truly said *there was no king in Israel, but every man did that which was good in his own eyes.*

Now concerning the rehearsal of the law by Moses, and the stopping of Jordan, they might indeed be properly said to have been when Israel came out of Egypt; like as we say, that king Edward I. was crowned when he came out of the Holy Land; for so all journeys, with their accidents, commonly take name from the place either whence or whither they tend. But I think he can find no such phrase of speech in scripture, as limiteth a journey by an accident, or saith, by converting the proposition, when Jordan was turning back, Israel came out of Egypt. Indeed most unproper it were to give date unto actions commenced long after, from an expedition finished long before; namely, to say, that king Edward, at his arrival out of Palæstina, did win Scotland, or died at Carlisle. How may we then believe that enterprise, performed so many years after the division of the land, (which followed the conquest at the journey's end,) should be said to have been at the time of the departure out of Egypt? Or who will not think it most strange, that the most notable account of time, serving as the only guide for certain ages in sacred chronology, should not take name and beginning from that illustrious deliverance out of Egypt rehearsed often by God himself among the principal of his benefits to Israel, whereof the very day and month are recorded in scripture, (as likewise are the year and month wherein it expired,) and the form of the year upon that occasion changed; but should have reference to the surprising of a town by 600 men, that robbed a chapel by the way, and stole from thence idols to be their guides, as not going to work in God's name? For this accident, whereupon Codoman buildeth, hath either no time given to it, or a time far different from that which he supposeth, and is indeed rather by him placed in such a year, because it best stood with his interpretation so to have it, than for any certainty or likelihood of the thing itself.

Wherefore we may best agree with such as affirm, that the apostle St. Paul did not herein labour to set down the course of time exactly, (a thing no way concerning his purpose,) but only to shew that God, who had chosen Israel to be his people, delivered them out of bondage, and ruled them by judges and prophets unto the time of Saul; did raise up our Lord Jesus Christ out of the seed of David the king, in whose succession the crown was established, and promise made of a kingdom that should have no end. Now in rehearsing briefly thus much, which tended as a preface to the declaration following, (wherein he sheweth Christ to have been the true Messias,) the apostle was so far from labouring to make an exact calculation of time, (the history being so well known, and believed of the Jews to whom he preached,) that he spake as it were at large of the forty years consumed in the wilderness, whereof no man doubted; saying, that God suffered their manners in the wilderness about forty years. In like manner he proceeded, saying, that from the division of the land unto the days of Samuel the prophet, in whose time they required to have a king, there passed about 450 years. Neither did he stand to tell them, that 111 years of bondage, mentioned in this middle while, were by exact computation to be included within the 339 years of the judges; for this had been an impertinent digression from the argument which he had in hand. Wherefore it is a work not so needful as laborious, to search out of this place that which the apostle did not here intend to teach, when the sum of 480 years is so expressly and purposely set down.

Now that the words of St. Paul (if there be no fault in the copy through error of some scribe) are not so curiously to be examined in matter of chronology, but must be taken as having reference to the memory and apprehension of the vulgar, it is evident by his ascribing in the same place forty years to the reign of Saul; whereas it is manifest, that those years were divided between Saul and Samuel, yea, that far the greater part of them were spent under the government of the prophet, howsoever they are here included

in the reign of the king. As for those, that with so much cunning forsake the general opinion, when it favoureth not such exposition as they bring out of a good mind to help where the need is not over great, I had rather commend their diligence, than follow their example. The words of St. Paul were sufficiently justified by Beroaldus, as having reference to a common opinion among the scribes in those days, that the 111 years of servitude were to be reckoned apart from the 339 years ascribed to the judges; which account the apostle would not in this place stand to contradict, but rather chose to speak as the vulgar, qualifying it with a *quasi*, where he saith, *Quasi quadringentis et quinquaginta annis;* "As it were four hundred and fifty years." But Codoman being not thus contented, would needs have it to be so indeed; and therefore disjoins the members to make the account even. In so doing he dasheth himself against a notable text; whereupon all authors have builded, (as well they might and ought,) that purposely and precisely doth cast up the years from the departure out of Egypt, unto the building of Salomon's temple, not omitting the very month itself.

Now (as commonly the first apprehensions are strongest) having already given faith to his own interpretation of St. Paul, he thinketh it more needful to find some new exposition for that, which is of itself most plain, than to examine his own conjecture, upon a place that is full of controversy. Thus by expounding, after a strange method, that which is manifest by that which is obscure, he loseth himself in those ways wherein before him never man walked. Surely if one should urge him to give reason of these new opinions, he must needs answer, that Othoniel could not govern above twenty-five years, because then was the taking of Laish, *at which time there was no king in Israel:* that the Danites must needs have taken Laish at that time, because else we could not reckon backwards from the foundation of the temple, to any action that might be termed the coming of Israel out of Egypt, without excluding the years of servitude; and that the years of servitude must needs be included, for

that otherwise he himself should have spent his time vainly, in seeking to pleasure St. Paul with an exposition. Whether this ground be strong enough to uphold a paradox, I leave it to the decision of any judicious reader.

And now to proceed in our story. To the time of Jephta are referred the death of Hercules, the rape of Helen by Paris, and the provisions which her husband Menelaus, reigning then in Sparta, and his brother Agamemnon, king of Mycenæ, made for her recovery. Others refer this rape of Helen to the fourth year of Ibzan; from which time, if the war of Troy (as they suppose) did not begin till the third of Ailon, or Elon, yet the Greeks had six years to prepare themselves; the rule holding not true in this war, *Longa præparatio belli celerem affert victoriam*; "That a "long preparation begets a speedy victory;" for the Greeks consumed ten years in the attempt; and Troy, as it seems, was entered, sacked, and burnt in the third year of Habdon.

Three years after Troy was taken, which was in the sixth year of Habdon, Æneas arrived in Italy. Habdon, in the eighth year of his rule, died, after he had been the father of forty sons and thirty grandchildren. And whereas it is supposed, that the forty years of Israel's oppression by the Philistines (of which Judg. xiii. 1.) took beginning from the ninth year of Jair, and ended with the last of Habdon; I see no great reason for that opinion. For Ephraim had had little cause of quarrel against Jephta, for not calling them to war over Jordan, if the Philistines had held them in servitude in their own territories; and if Ephraim could have brought 42,000 armed men into the field, it is not likely that they were then oppressed; and had it been true that they were, who will doubt but that they would rather have fought against the Philistines, with so powerful an army, for their own deliverance, than against their own brethren the Israelites? But Ammon being overthrown, it seemed at that time that they feared no other enemy. And therefore these forty years must either be supplied elsewhere, as in the time of Samson, and afterward; or else they must be re-

ferred to the interregnum between the death of Habdon and the deliverance of Israel by Samson, such as it was.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the war of Troy.

SECT. I.

Of the genealogy of the kings of Troy, with a note touching the ancient poets how they have observed historical truth.

THE war at Troy, with other stories hereupon depending, (because the ruin of this city by most chronologers is found in the time of Habdon, judge of Israel, whom in the last place I have mentioned,) I rather choose here to entreat of in one entire narration, beginning with the lineal descent of their princes, than to break the story into pieces, by rehearsing apart in divers years the diversity of occurrents.

The history of the ancient kings of Troy is uncertain, in regard both of their original and of their continuance. It is commonly held that Teucer and Dardanus were the two founders of that kingdom. This is the opinion of Virgil; which if he (as Reineccius thinks) took from Berosus, it is the more probable: if Annius borrowed it from him, then it rests upon the authority of Virgil, who saith thus:

[d] *Creta Jovis magni medio jacet insula ponto:*
Mons Idæus ubi, et gentis cunabula nostræ.
Centum urbes habitant magnas, uberrima regna:
Maximus unde pater (si rite audita recordor)
Teucrus Rhœteas primum est advectus ad oras:
Optavitque locum regno. Nondum Ilium et arces
Pergameæ steterant; habitabant vallibus imis.
Hinc mater cultrix Cybelæ, Corybantiaque æra,
Idæumque nemus.

In the main sea the isle of Crete doth lie;
Where Jove was born, thence is our progeny.

[d] Æneid. l. 3.

There is mount Ida: there in fruitful land
An hundred great and goodly cities stand.
Thence (if I follow not mistaken fame)
Teucer the eldest of our grandsires came
To the Rhœtean shores; and reigned there
Ere yet fair Ilion was built, and ere
The towers of Troy; their dwellingplace they sought
In lowest vales. Hence Cybel's rights were brought:
Hence Corybantian cymbals did remove;
And hence the name of our Idæan grove.

Thus it seems by Virgil, who followed surely good authority, that Teucer first gave name to that country, wherein he reigned ere Troy was built by Dardanus; of which Dardanus in the same book he speaks thus:

Est locus Hesperiam Graii cognomine dicunt:
Terra antiqua, potens armis atque ubere glebæ.
Œnotrii coluere viri: nunc fama, minores
Italiam dixisse, ducis de nomine, gentem.
Hæ nobis propriæ sedes, hinc Dardanus ortus:
Iasiusque pater, genus a quo principe nostrum.

Hesperia the Grecians call the place;
An ancient fruitful land, a warlike race.
Œnotrians held it, now the latter progeny
Gives it their captain's name, and calls it Italy.
This seat belongs to us, hence Dardanus,
Hence came the author of our stock, Iasius.

[c] *Atque equidem memini (fama est obscurior annis)*
Auruncos ita ferre senes, his ortus ut agris
Dardanus Idæas Phrygiæ penetravit ad urbes,
Threïciamque Samum, quæ nunc Samothracia fertur.
Hinc illum Coryti Tyrrhenâ ab sede profectum
Aurea nunc solio stellantis regia cœli
Accipit, &c.

Some old Auruncans, I remember well,
(Though time have made the fame obscure) would tell

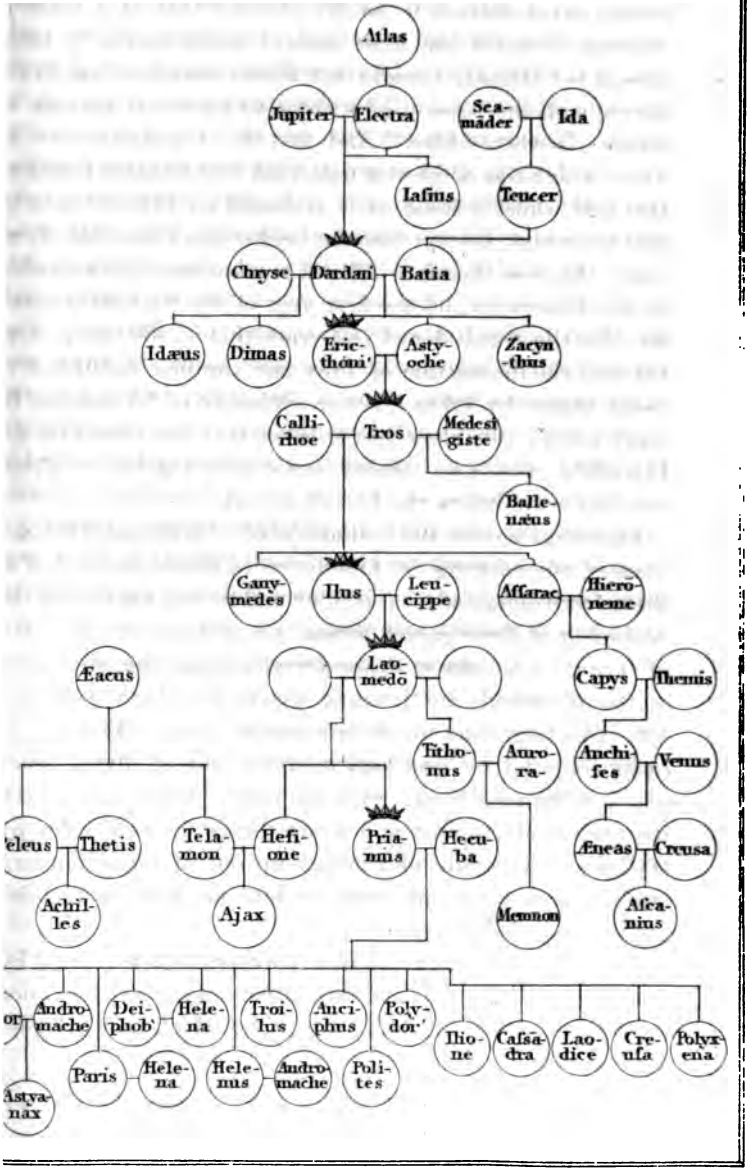
[c] Æneid. l. 7.

Of Dardanus, how born in Italy;
From hence he into Phrygia did fly.
And leaving Tuscaine (where he erst had place)
With Corytus did sail to Samothrace;
But now enthronised he sits on high,
In golden palace of the starry sky.

But contrary to this, and to so many authors, approving and confirming it, Reineccius thinks that these names, Troes, Teucri, and Thraces, are derived from Tiras, or Thiras, the son of Japhet; and that the Dardanians, Mysians, and Ascanians, mixed with the Trojans, were German nations, descended from Ashkenaz, the son of Gomer; of whom the country, lake, and river of Ascanius in Asia took name. That Ashkenaz gave name to those places and people, it is not unlikely; neither is it unlikely that the Ascanii, Dardani, and many others, did in aftertimes pass into Europe; that the name of Teucer came of Tiras the conjecture is somewhat hard. Concerning Teucer, whereas Halicarnasseus makes him an Athenian, I find none that follow him in the same opinion. Virgil (as is before shewed) reporteth him to be of Crete, whose authority is the more to be regarded, because he had good means to find the truth, which it is probable that he carefully sought, and in this did follow; seeing it no way concerned Augustus, (whom other whiles he did flatter,) whether Teucer were of Crete or no. Reineccius doth rather embrace the opinion of Diodorus and others, that think him a Phrygian, by which report he was the son of Scamander and Ida, lord of the country, not founder of the city; and his daughter or niece Batia, was the second wife of Dardanus, founder of Troy. Reineccius further thinks, that Atlas reigned in Samothracia, and gave his daughter Electra to Corytus, or Coritus; and that these were parents to Chryse, first wife to Dardanus. Virgil holds otherwise, and the common tradition of poets makes Dardanus the son of Electra by Jupiter, which Electra was the daughter of Atlas, and wife to Coritus king of Hetruria, to whom she bare Jasius. Annius out of his Berosus finds

the name of Camboblascon, to whom he gives the addition of Coritus, as a title of dignity, making him father of Dardanus and Jasius; and further telling us very particularly of the faction between these brethren, which grew to such heat, that finally Dardanus killed his brother, and thereupon fled into Samothrace. The obscurity of the history gives leave to Annius of saying what he list. I that love not to use such liberty, will forbear to determine any thing herein. But if Dardanus were the son of Jupiter, it must have been of some elder Jupiter than the father of those that lived about the war of Troy. So it is likewise probable, that Atlas, the father of Electra, was rather an Italian than an African, which also is the opinion of [f] Boccace. For (as hath often been said) there were many Jupiters, and many of almost every name of the gods; but it was the custom to ascribe to some one the acts of the rest, with all belonging to them. Therefore I will not greatly trouble myself with making any narrow search into these fabulous antiquities, but set down the pedigree according to the general fame; allowing to Teucer such parents as Diodorus gives, because others give him none, and carrying the line of Dardanus in manner following:

[f] Boccace de Gen. Deor. l. 4. c. 31.


Atlas
Jupiter
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Iasius
Teucer
Chryse
Dardan
Batia
Idæus
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Ilus
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cippe
Affarac
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Æacus
Lao-
medo
Capys
Themis
Tithō-
nus
Auro-
ra
Anchi-
ses
Venus
eleus
Thetis
Tela-
mon
Hefi-
one
Pria-
mus
Hecu-
ba
Æneas
Creusa
Achil-
les
Ajax
Memnon
Afca-
nius
Andro-
mache
Dei-
phob
Hele-
na
Troi-
lus
Anci-
phus
Polyd-
or
Ilio-
ne
Caſsā-
dra
Lao-
dice
Cre-
uſa
Polyxe-
na
Paris
Hele-
na
Hele-
nus
Andro-
mache
Poli-
tes
Aſtya-
nax

Concerning the beginning and continuance of the Trojan kingdom, with the length of every king's reign, I have chosen good authors to be my guides; that in a history, whereon depends the most ancient computation of times among the Greeks, I might not follow uncertainties, ill cohering with the consent of writers, and general passage of things elsewhere done. And first for the destruction of Troy, which was of greater note than any accident befalling that city whilst it stood, it is reckoned by [g] Diodorus to be 780 years more ancient than the beginning of the 94th olympiad. Whereas therefore 372 did pass between the beginning of the olympiads and the first year of the 94th, it is manifest that the remainder of 780 years, that is, 408 years, went between the destruction of Troy and the first institution of those games by Iphitus, if the authority of [h] Diodorus be good proof; who elsewhere tells us, that the return of the Heraclidæ, which was eighty years after the fall of Troy, was 328 years before the first olympiad.

Hereunto agrees the authority of [i] Dionysius Halicarnasseus, who placing the foundation of Rome in the first of the seventh olympiad, that is, four and twenty years after the beginning of those games, accounts it 432 later than the fall of Troy. [k] Solinus in express words makes the institution of the olympiads by Iphitus, whom he calleth Iphiclus, 408 years later than the destruction of Troy. The sum is easily collected by necessary inference out of divers other places in the same book. Hereunto doth [l] Eusebius, reckoning exclusively, agree: and Eratosthenes (as he is cited by [m] Clemens Alexandrinus) makes up out of many particulars the same total sum, wanting but one year, as reckoning likewise exclusively.

The other collections of divers writers that are cited by Clemens in the same place, do neither cohere any way, nor depend upon any collateral history, by which they may be verified.

[g] Diod. l. 14.
[h] Diod. in Præf.
[i] Dionys. Halic. Antiq. l. 2.
[k] Solin. Polyhist. c. 2.
[l] Euseb. de Præp. Evang. l. 10. c. 3.
[m] Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 1.

The destruction of Troy being in the year before the olympiads four hundred and eight, we must seek the continuance of that, from the beginning to the end, out of Eusebius, who leads us from Dardanus onwards through the reigns of four kings, by the space of two hundred and five and twenty years; and after of Priamus, with whom also at length it ended. As for the time which passed under Laomedon, we are fain to do as others have done before us, and take it upon trust from Annius's authors; believing Manetho so much the rather, for that in his account of the former king's reigns, and of Priamus, he is found to agree with Eusebius, which may give us leave to think that Annius hath not herein corrupted him. But in this point we need not to be very scrupulous: for seeing that no history or account of time depends upon the reigns of the former kings, but only upon the ruin of the city under Priamus, it may suffice that we are careful to place that memorable accident in the due year.

True it is, that some objections, appearing weighty, may be alleged in maintenance of different computations, which, with the answers, I purposely omit, as not willing to dispute of those years wherein the Greeks knew no good form of a year; but rather to make narration of the actions which were memorable, and acknowledged by all writers, whereof this destruction of Troy was one of the most renowned.

The first enterprise that was undertaken by general consent of all Greece, was the last war of Troy, which hath been famous even to this day for the numbers of princes and valiant commanders there assembled; the great battles fought with variable success; the long endurance of the siege; the destruction of that great city; and the many colonies planted in sundry countries, as well by the remainder of the Trojans, as by the victorious Greeks after their unfortunate return. All which things, with innumerable circumstances of especial note, have been delivered unto posterity by the excellent wits of many writers, especially by the poems of that great Homer, whose verses have given immortality to the action, which might else perhaps have been

buried in oblivion, among other worthy deeds done both before and since that time. For it is true which Horace saith:

Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona
Multi, sed omnes illachrimabiles
Urgentur, ignotique longa
Nocte: carent quia vate sacro.

Many by valour have deserv'd renown
Ere Agamemnon: yet lie all opprest
Under long night, unwept for and unknown:
For with no sacred poet were they blest.

Yet so it is, that whilst these writers have with strange fables, or (to speak the best of them) with allegories far strained, gone about to enlarge the commendations of those noble undertakers; they have both drawn into suspicion that great virtue which they sought to adorn, and filled after-ages with almost as much ignorance of the history, as admiration of the persons. Wherefore it is expedient that we seek for the knowledge of such actions in histories; learning their qualities who did manage them, of poets, in whose works are both profit and delight, yet small profit to those which are delighted overmuch; but such as can either interpret their fables, or separate them from the naked truth, shall find matter in poems not unworthy to be regarded of historians. For those things excepted which are gathered out of Homer, there is very little, and not without much disagreement of authors, written of this great war. All writers consent with Homer, that the rape of Helen by Paris, the son of Priamus, was the cause of taking arms; but how he was hereunto emboldened, it is doubtful.

SECT. II.

Of the rape of Helen; and strength of both sides for the war.

HERODOTUS fetcheth the cause of this rape from very far, saying, that whereas the Phœnicians had ravished Io, and carried her into Egypt; the Greeks, to be revenged on the barbarians, did first ravish Europa, whom they brought

out of Phœnicia into Creta, and afterward Medea, whom they fetched from Colchos, denying to restore her to her father, till such time as they might be satisfied for the rape of Io. By these deeds of the Greeks, Paris (as the same Herodotus affirms) was emboldened to do the like, not fearing such revenge as ensued. But all this narration seems frivolous. For what had the king of Colchos to do with the injury of the Phœnicians? or how could the Greeks, as in revenge of Io, plead any quarrel against him, that never had heard the name of Phœnicians? Thucydides, a writer of unquestionable sincerity, maketh it plain, that the name of *barbarians* was not used at all in Homer's time, which was long after the war of Troy; and that the Greeks themselves were not then called all by one name Hellenes, as afterwards. So that it were unreasonable to think, that they should have sought revenge upon all nations as barbarous, for the injury received by one; or that all people else should have esteemed of the Greeks, as of a people opposed to all the world; and that even then, when as the Greeks had not yet one common name among themselves. Others with more probability say, that the rape of Helen was to procure the redelivery of Hesione, king Priamus's sister, taken formerly by Hercules, and given to Telamon. This may have been true. For Telamon, as it seems, was a cruel man, seeing his own son Teucer durst not come in his sight, after the war of Troy, but fled into Cypris, only because his brother Ajax (which Teucer could not remedy) had slain himself. Yet, were it so that Hesione was ill entreated by Telamon, it was not therefore likely that Priamus her brother would seek to take her from her husband, with whom she had lived about thirty years, and to whom she had borne children, which were to succeed in his dominion. Whereupon I think that Paris had no regard either to the rape of Europa, Medea, or Hesione; but was merely incited by Venus, that is, by his lust, to do that which in those days was very common. For not only Greeks from barbarians, and barbarians from Greeks, as Herodotus discourseth, but all people were accustomed to steal

cattle, if they could by strong hand or power get them; and having stolen them, either to sell them away in some far country, or keep them to their own use. So did Theseus and Pirithous attempt Proserpina; and so did Theseus (long before Paris) ravish Helen. And these practices, as it appears in Thucydides, were so common, that none durst inhabit near unto the sea for fear of piracy, which was accounted a trade of life no less lawful than merchandise: wherefore Tyndareus, the father of Helen, considering the beauty of his daughter, and the rape which Theseus had made, caused all her wooers, who were most of the principal men in Greece, to bind themselves by solemn oath, that if she were taken from her husband, they should with all their might help to recover her. This done, he gave free choice of a husband to his daughter, who chose Menelaus, brother to Agamemnon: so the cause which drew the Greeks unto Troy, in revenge of Helen's rape, was partly the oath which so many princes had made unto her father Tyndareus. Hereunto the great power of Agamemnon was not a little helping; for Agamemnon, besides his great dominions in Peloponnesus, was lord of many islands; he was also rich in money, and therefore the Arcadians were well contented to follow his pay, whom he embarked for Troy in his own ships, which were more than any other of the Greek princes brought to that expedition.

Thus did all Greece, either as bound by oath, or led by the reputation and power of the two brethren Agamemnon and Menelaus, or desirous to partake of the profit and honour in that great enterprise, take arms against the Trojans. The Greeks' fleet was (by Homer's account) 1200 sail, or thereabouts; but the vessels were not great; for it was not then the manner to build ships with decks; only they used (as Thucydides saith) small ships, meet for robbing on the sea; the least of which carried fifty men, the greatest 120, every man (except the captains) being both a mariner and a soldier. By this proportion it appears that the Grecian army consisted of 100,000 men, or thereabouts. This was the greatest army that ever was raised out of

Greece: and the greatness of this army doth well declare the strength and power of Troy, which ten whole years did stand out against such forces: yet were the Trojans which inhabited the city not the tenth part of this number, as Agamemnon said in the second of Homer's Iliads; but their followers and aids were very many and strong. For all Phrygia, Lycia, Mysia, and the greatest part of Asia the Less, took part with the Trojans. The Amazons also brought them succour; and Rhesus out of Thrace, and Memnon out of Assyria, (though some think out of Ethiopia,) came to their defence.

SECT. III.

Of the Grecians' journey, and embassage to Troy; and of Helena's being detained in Egypt; and of the sacrificing of Iphigenia.

WHEREFORE the Greeks, unwilling to come to trial of arms, if things might be compounded by treaty, sent Menelaus and Ulysses ambassadors to Troy; who demanded Helen and the goods that were taken with her out of Menelaus's house. What answer the Trojans made hereunto it is uncertain. Herodotus, from the report of the Egyptian priests, makes it very probable that Helen was taken from Paris before his return to Troy. The sum of his discourse is this:

Paris, in his return with Helena, being driven by foul weather unto the coast of Egypt, was accused for the rape of Helen by some bondmen of his that had taken sanctuary. Proteus, then king of Egypt, finding the accusation true by examination, detained Helen, and the goods taken with her, till her husband should require them; dismissing Paris without further punishment, because he was a stranger. When therefore the Greeks, demanding Helen, had answer that she was in Egypt, they thought themselves deluded, and thereupon made the war which ended with the ruin of Troy. But when, after the city taken, they perceived indeed she had not been there, they returned home, sending Menelaus to ask his wife of Proteus. Homer and the whole nation of poets (except Euripides) vary from this

history, thinking it a matter more magnificent and more graceful to their poems, for their retaining of a fair lady, than that they endured all by force, because it lay not in their power to redeliver her. Yet in the fourth of his Odysses, Homer speaks of Menelaus's being in Egypt before he returned home to Sparta; which voyage it were not easily believed that he made for pleasure: and if he were driven thither by contrary winds, much more may we think that Paris was likely to have been driven thither by foul weather. For Paris, immediately upon the rape committed, was enforced to fly, taking such winds as he could get, and rather enduring any storm, than to commit himself to any haven in the Greek seas; whereas Menelaus might have put into any port in Greece, and there have remained with good entertainment, until such time as the wind had come about, and served for his navigation.

One great argument Herodotus brings to confirm the saying of the Egyptian priests, which is, that if Helen had been at Troy, it had been utter madness for Priamus to see so many miseries befall him during the war, and so many of his sons slain for the pleasure of one, who neither was heir to the kingdom (for Hector was elder) nor equal in virtue to many of the rest. Besides, it may seem that Lucian spake not more pleasantly than truly, when he said, that Helen, at the war of Troy, was almost as old as queen Hecuba, considering that she had been ravished by Theseus, the companion of Hercules, who took Troy when Priamus was very young; and considering further, that she was sister to Castor and Pollux, (she and Pollux being said by some to have been twins,) who sailed with the Argonauts, having Telamon, the father of Ajax, in their company, before the time that Hesione was taken; on whom Telamon begat Ajax, that was a principal commander in the Trojan war. But whether it were so, that the Trojans could not or would not restore Helen, so it was, that the ambassadors returned ill contented, and not very well entreated; for there wanted not some that advised to have them slain. The Greeks hereupon incensed, made all haste

towards Troy; at which time Calchas (whom some say to have been a runagate Trojan, though no such thing be found in Homer) filled the captains and all the host with many troublesome answers and divinations. For he would have Agamemnon's daughter sacrificed to appease Diana, whose anger, he said, withstood their passage. Whether the young lady was sacrificed, or whether (as some write) the goddess was contented with a hind, it is not needful here to be disputed of. Sure it is, that the malice of the Devil, which awaits for all opportunities, is never more importunate than where men's ignorance is most. Calchas also told the Greeks, that the taking of Troy was impossible, till some fatal impediments were removed; and that till ten years were passed the town should hold out against them. All which notwithstanding, the Greeks proceeded in their enterprise, under the command of Agamemnon, who was accompanied with his brother Menelaus, Achilles, the most valiant of all the Greeks, his friend Patroclus, and his tutor Phœnix; Ajax and Teucer, the sons of Telamon; Idomeneus, and his companion Meriones; Nestor, and his sons Antilochus and Thrasymedes; Ulysses; Mnestheus, the son of Petreus, captain of the Athenians; Diomedes, the son of Tydeus, a man of singular courage; the wise and learned Palamedes; Ascalaphus and Ialmenus, the sons of Mars, who had sailed with the Argonauts; Philoctetes also, the son of Pæan, who had the arrows of Hercules, without which Calchas said that the city could not be taken; Ajax, the son of Oileus, Peneleus, Thoas, Eumelus, Tisandrus, Eurypylus, Athamas, Sthenelus, Tlepolemus, the son of Hercules; Podalirius and Machaon, the sons of Æsculapius; Epeus, who is said to have made the wooden horse, by which the town was taken; and Protesilaus, who first leaped on shore, neglecting the oracle that threatened death to him that landed first.

SECT. IV.

Of the acts of the Grecians at the siege.

THESE, and many other of less note, arriving at Troy, found such sharp entertainment, as might easily persuade

them to think that the war would be more than one year's work. For in the first encounter they lost Protesilaus, whom Hector slew, and many other, without any great harm done to the Trojans; save only that by their numbers of men they won ground enough to encamp themselves in, as appeareth in Thucydides. The principal impediment which the Greeks found was want of victuals, which grew upon them by reason of their multitude, and the smallness of their vessels, wherein they could not carry necessaries for such an army. Hereupon they were compelled to send some part of their men to labour the ground in Cherronesse, others to rob upon the sea, for the relief of the camp. Thus was the war protracted nine whole years, and either nothing done, or if any skirmishes were, yet could the town receive little loss by them, having equal numbers to maintain the field against such Greeks as continued the siege, and a more safe retreat if the enemy got the better.

Wherefore Ovid saith, that from the first year till the tenth there was no fighting at all; and Heraclides commends as very credible the report of Herodotus, that the Greeks did not lie before Troy the first nine years; but only did beat up and down the seas, exercising their men, and enriching themselves, and so by wasting the enemy's country, did block up the town, unto which they returned not, until the fatal time drew near when it should be subverted.

This is confirmed by the inquiry which Priamus made, when the Greek princes came into the field, the tenth year, for he knew none of them, and therefore sitting upon an high tower, (as Homer, Iliad. 3. tells,) he learned their names of Helen; which, though it is like to be a fiction, yet could it not at all have been supposed that he should be ignorant of them, if they had shewed themselves before the town so many years together. Between these relations of Thucydides and Herodotus, the difference is not much, the one saying that a few of the Greeks remained in the camp before Troy, whilst the rest made purveyance by land and sea; the other, that the whole army did spend the time

in wasting the sea-coasts. Neither do the poets greatly disagree from these authors; for they make report of many towns and islands wasted, and the people carried into captivity; in which actions Achilles was employed, whom the army could not well, nor would have spared, if any service of importance had been to be performed before the city. Howsoever it was, this is agreed by general consent, that in the beginning of that summer, in which Troy was taken, great booties were brought into the camp, and a great pestilence arose among the Greeks; which Homer saith, that Apollo sent in revenge of his priest's daughter, whom Agamemnon had refused to let go for any ransom: but Heraclides, interpreting the place, saith, that by Apollo was meant the sun; who raised pestilent fogs, by which the army was infected, being lodged in a moorish piece of ground. And it might well be that the camp was overpestered with those who had been abroad, and now were lodged all close together: having also grounded their ships within the fortifications.

About the same time arose much contention between Agamemnon and Achilles about the booty, whereof Agamemnon, as general, having first chosen for his part a captive woman, and Achilles, in the second place, chosen for himself another, then Ajax, Ulysses, and so the rest of the chieftains in order. When the soothsayer Calchas had willed that Agamemnon's woman should be restored to her father, Apollo's priest, that so the pestilence might cease, then did Agamemnon greatly rage, and say, that he alone would not lose his part of the spoil, but would either take that which had been given to Achilles, or that which had fallen to Ajax or to Ulysses. Hereupon Achilles defied him, but was fain to suffer all patiently, as not able to hold his concubine by strong hand, nor to revenge her loss, otherwise than by refusing to fight, or to send forth his companies. But the Greeks, encouraged by their captains, presented themselves before the city without him and his troops.

The Trojans were now relieved with great succours, all the neighbour countries having sent them aid; partly drawn

to that war by their commanders, who assisted Priamus for money, wherewith he abounded when the war began, (as appears by his words in Homer,) or for love of himself and his sons, or hope of marriage with some of his many and fair daughters; partly also (as we may well guess) incited by the wrongs received of the Greeks, when they wasted the countries adjoining unto Troy: so that when Hector issued out of the town, he was little inferior to his enemies in numbers of men, or quality of their leaders. The principal captains in the Trojan army were Hector, Paris, Deiphobus, Helenus, and the other sons of Priamus; Æneas, Antenor and his sons, Polydamas, Sarpedon, Glaucus, Asius, and the sons of Panthus, besides Rhesus, who was slain the first night of his arrival; Memnon, queen Penthesilea, and others who came toward the end of the war. Between these and the Greeks were many battles fought; the greatest of which were, that at the tomb of king Ilus, upon the plain; and another, at the very trenches of the camp, wherein Hector brake through the fortifications of the Greeks, and began to fire their ships; at which time Ajax, the son of Telamon, with his brother Teucer, were in a manner the only men of note that, remaining unwounded, made head against Hector, when the state of the Greeks was almost desperate.

Another battle, (for so antiquity calls it,) or rather the same renewed, was fought by Patroclus, who, having obtained leave, drew forth Achilles's troops, relieving the weary Greeks with a fresh supply. Agamemnon, Diomedes, Ulysses, and the rest of the princes, though sore wounded, yet were driven to put on armour, and with help of Patroclus, repelled the Trojans very hardly. For in that fight Patroclus was lost, and his body, with much contention recovered by his friends, was brought back into the camp; the armour of Achilles which he had put on, being torn from him by Hector. It was the manner of those wars, having slain a man, to strip him, and hale away his body, not restoring it without ransom, if he were one of mark. Of the vulgar, little reckoning was made; for they

fought all on foot, slightly armed, and commonly followed the success of their captains, who rode, not upon horses, but in chariots, drawn by two or three horses, which were guided by some trusty followers of theirs, which drave up and down the field, as they were directed by the captains, who by the swiftness of their horses presenting themselves where need required, threw first their javelins, and then alighting fought on foot with swords and battle-axes, retiring into the ranks of the footmen, or else returning to their chariots when they found cause, and so began again with a new dart as they could get it, if their old were lost or broken. Their arms defensive were helmets, breast-plates, boots of brass or other metal, and shields commonly of leather, plated over. The offensive were swords and battle-axes at hand; and stones, arrows, or darts, when they fought at any distance. The use of their chariots (besides the swiftness) was to keep them from weariness, whereto the leaders were much subject, because of their armour, which the strongest and stoutest ware heaviest: also that from them they might throw their javelins downwards with the more violence. Of which weapon I find not that any carried more than one or two into the field: wherefore they were often driven to return to their tents for a new one, when the old was gone. Likewise of armours they had little change or none; every man (speaking of the chief) carried his own complete, of which if any piece were lost or broken, he was driven to repair it with the like, if he had any fitting, taken from some captain whom he had slain and stripped; or else to borrow of them that had by such means gotten some to spare. Whereas therefore Achilles had lost his armour, which Hector (as is said before) had taken from the body of Patroclus, he was fain to await the making of new, ere he could enter the fight; whereof he became very desirous, that he might revenge the death of Patroclus, his dear friend.

At this time Agamemnon reconciled himself unto Achilles, not only restoring his concubine Briseis, but giving him very great gifts, and excusing former matters as well as he might.

In the next battle Achilles did so behave himself, that he did not only put the Trojans to the worst, but also slew the valiant Hector, whom (if Homer may herein be believed) he chased three times about the walls of Troy. But great question may be made of Homer's truth in this narration. For it is not likely that Hector would stay alone without the city (as Homer doth report of him) when all the Trojans were fled into it; nor that he could leap over the rivers of Xanthus and Simois, as he must have done in that flight: nor that the Trojans, perceiving Hector in such an extremity, would have forborne to open some of their gates and let him in. But this is reported only to grace Achilles, who having (by what means soever) slain the noble Hector, did not only carry away his dead body, as the custom then was, but boring holes in his feet, and thrusting leathern thongs into them, tied him to his chariot, and dragged him shamefully about the field, selling the dead body to his father Priamus for a very great ransom. But his cruelty and covetousness were not long unrevenged; for he was shortly after slain with an arrow by Paris, as Homer says, in the Scæan gate, or as others, in the temple of Apollo, whither he came to have married Polyxena, the daughter of Priamus, with whom he was too far in love, having slain so many of her brethren, and his body was ransomed (as Lycophron saith) at the self-same rate that Hector's was by him sold for. Not long after this, Penthesilea, queen of the Amazons, arrived at Troy; who, after some proof given of her valour, was slain by Pyrrhus, the son of Achilles.

SECT. V.

Of the taking of Troy, the wooden horse, the book of Dares and Dictys, the colonies of the relics of Troy.

FINALLY, after the death of many worthy persons on each side, the city was taken by night, as all writers agree; but whether by the treason of Æneas and Antenor, or by a wooden horse, as the poets and common fame (which followed the poets) have delivered, it is uncertain. Some write, that upon one of the gates of Troy called Scæa, was

the image of a horse, and that the Greeks entering by that gate, gave occasion to the report that the city was taken by an artificial horse. It may well be, that with some wooden engine which they called an horse, they either did batter the walls, as the Romans in after-times used to do with the ram; or scaled the walls upon the sudden, and so took the city. As for the hiding of men in the hollow body of a wooden horse, it had been a desperate adventure, and serving to no purpose. For either the Trojans might have perceived the deceit, and slain all those princes of Greece that were enclosed in it, (which also by such as maintain this report they are said to have thought upon,) or they might have left it a few days without, (for it was unlikely that they should the very first day both conclude upon the bringing it into the town, and break down their walls upon the sudden to do it,) by which means they who were shut into it must have perished for hunger, if they had not by issuing forth unseasonably discovered the invention. Whereas further it is said, that this horse was built so high and great, that it could not be brought into the town through any of the gates, and that therefore the Trojans were fain to pull down a part of their wall to make way for it, through which breach the Greeks did afterwards enter: it is hereby manifest, that the enclosing of so many principal men was altogether needless, considering that without their help there was way sufficient for the army, so that the surprising of any gate by them was now to no purpose.

John Baptista Gramay, in his History of Asia, discoursing of this war, saith, that the Greeks did both batter the wall with a wooden engine, and were also let into the city by Antenor, at the Scæan gate; the townsmen sleeping and drinking without fear or care, because the fleet of the Grecians had hoisted sail, and was gone the day before to the isle of Tenedos, thereby to bring the Trojans into security. That the city was betrayed, the books of Dares and Dictys must prove, which whether we now have the same that were by them written, it may be suspected; for surely they, who have made mention of these writers in ancient

times, would not, as they did, have followed the reports of Homer and others, quite contradictory in most points to these two authors, without once taking notice of the opposition which they, having served in that war, made against the common report; had it not been that either those books were even in those times thought frivolous, or else contained no such repugnancy to the other authors as now is found in them.

Also concerning the number of men slain in this war, which Dares and Dictys say to have been above 600,000 on the Trojan side, and more than 800,000 of the Greeks, it is a report merely fabulous; forasmuch as the whole fleet of the Greeks was reckoned by Homer, who extolled their army and deeds as much as he could, to be somewhat less than 1200 sail, and the army therein transported over the Greek seas not much above 100,000 men, according to the rate formerly mentioned. But it is the common fashion of men to extol the deeds of their ancients; for which cause both Homer magnified the captains of the Greeks that served in the war, and Virgil with others were as diligent in commending and extolling the Trojans and their city, from which the Romans descended. Yea, the Athenians long after, in the war which Xerxes the Persian king made against all Greece, did not forbear to vaunt of the great cunning which Mnesteus the son of Peteus had shewed, in marshalling the Grecian army before Troy; whereupon, as if it had been a matter of much consequence, they were so proud, that they refused to yield unto Gelon, king of almost all Sicily, the admiralty of their seas, notwithstanding that he promised to bring 200 good fighting ships, and 30,000 men for their defence.

The like vanity possessed many other cities of Greece, and many nations in these parts of the world, which have striven to bring their descent from some of the princes that warred at Troy; all difficulties or unlikelihoods in such their pedigree notwithstanding. But those nations which indeed, or in most probability, came of the Trojans, were the Albanes in Italy; and from them the Romans, brought

into that country by Æneas; the Venetians, first seated in Padua and the country adjoining by Antenor; the Chaonians, planted in Epirus by Helenus, the son of king Priamus. To which Hellanicus addeth, that the posterity of Hector did resemble such of the Trojans as were left, and reigned over them about Troy.

SECT. VI.

Of the distresses and dispersions of the Greeks returning from Troy.

CONCERNING the Greeks, they tasted as much misery as they had brought upon the Trojans. For Thucydides notes, that by reason of their long abode at the siege, they found many alterations when they returned; so that many were driven by their borderers from their ancient seats; many were expelled their countries by faction; some were slain anon after their arrival; others were debarred from the sovereignty among their people by such as had staid at home. The cause of all which may seem to have been the dispersion of the army, which, weakened much by the calamities of that long war, was of little force to repel injuries, being divided into so many pieces under several commanders, not very well agreeing. For (besides other quarrels arising upon the division of the booty, and the like occasions) at the time when they should have set sail, Agamemnon and his brother fell out, the one being desirous to depart immediately, the other to stay and perform some sacrifices to Minerva. Hereupon they fell to hot words, half the fleet remaining with Agamemnon, the rest of them sailing to the isle of Tenedos; where when they arrived, they could not agree among themselves, but some returned back to Agamemnon; others were dispersed, each holding his own course. But the whole fleet was sore vexed with tempests; for Pallas (as Homer saith) would not be persuaded in haste.

They who returned safe were Nestor and Pyrrhus, whom Orestes afterwards slew; also Idomeneus and Philoctetes, who nevertheless, as Virgil tells, were driven soon after to seek new seats; Idomeneus among the Salentines, and Phi-

loctetes at Petilia in Italy. Agamemnon likewise returned home, but was forthwith slain by his wife, and by the adulterer Ægisthus, who for a while after usurped his kingdom. Menelaus, wandering long upon the seas, came into Egypt, either with Helen, or (as may rather seem) to fetch her. Ulysses, after ten years, having lost all his company, got home in poor estate, with much ado recovering the mastership of his own house. All the rest either perished by the way, or were driven into exile, and fain to seek out new habitations.

Ajax, the son of Oileus, was drowned; Teucer fled into Cyprus; Diomedes to king Daunus, who was lord of the Iapyges in Apulia; some of the Locrians were driven into Africk, others into Italy, all the east part whereof was called Magna Græcia, by reason of so many towns which the Greeks were driven to erect upon that coast. Finally, it appears in Homer, that the Grecian ladies, whose husbands had been at the war of Troy, were wont to call it the place where the Greeks suffered misery, and the unlucky city not to be mentioned. And thus much for Troy, and those that warred there: the overthrow of which city, as hath been said, happened in the time of Habdon judge of Israel, whom Samson, after a vacancy or interregnum for certain years, succeeded.

CHAP. XV.

Of Samson, Eli, and Samuel.

SECT. I.

Of Samson.

THE birth and acts of Samson are written at large in the 13th, 14th, 15th, and 16th of Judges; and therefore I shall not need to make a repetition thereof. But these things I gather out of that story. First, That the angel of God forbade the wife of Manoah, the mother of Samson, to drink wine or strong drink, or to eat any unclean meat, after she was conceived with child, because those strong liquors

hinder the strength, and as it were wither and shrink the child in the mother's womb. Though this were even the counsel of God himself, and delivered by his angel, yet it seemeth that many women of this age have not read, or at least will not believe this precept; the most part forbearing nor drinks nor meats, how strong or unclean soever, filling themselves with all sorts of wines, and with artificial drinks far more forcible; by reason whereof, so many wretched feeble bodies are born into the world, and the races of the able and strong men in effect decayed.

Secondly, It is to be noted, that the angel of God refused the sacrifice which Manoah would have offered him, commanding him to present it unto the Lord; and therefore those that profess divination by the help of angels, to whom also they sacrifice, may assuredly know that they are devils who accept thereof, and not good angels, who receive no worship that is proper to God.

Thirdly, This Samson was twice betrayed by his wives, to wit, by their importunity and deceitful tears; by the first he lost but a part of his goods, by the second his life: *Quem nulla vis superare potuit, voluptas evertit;* "Whom "no force could over-master, voluptuousness overturned."

Fourthly, We may note, that he did not in all deliver Israel from the oppression of the Philistines, though in some sort he revenged and defended them: for notwithstanding that he had slain thirty of them in his first attempt, burnt their corn in harvest-time, and given them a great overthrow instantly upon it; yet so much did Israel fear the Philistines, as they assembled 3000 men out of Juda to besiege Samson in the rock or mountain of Etam, using these words: *Knowest not thou that the Philistines are rulers over us?* After which they bound him, and delivered him unto the Philistines, for fear of their revenge; though he was no sooner loosened, but he gave them another overthrow, and slew 1000 with the jaw-bone of an ass.

Lastly, Being made blind, and a prisoner by the treason of his wife, he was content to end his own life to be avenged of his enemies, when he pulled down the pillars of the house

at the feast whereto they sent for Samson to deride him, till which time he bare his affliction with patience: but it was truly said of Seneca; *Patientia sæpe læsa vertitur in furorem;* "Patience often wounded is converted into fury:" neither is it at any time so much wounded by pain and loss, as by derision and contumely.

SECT. II.

Of Eli, and of the ark taken, and of Dagon's fall, and the sending back of the ark.

THE story of Eli the priest, who succeeded Samson, is written in the beginning of Samuel; who foretold him of the destruction of his house for the wickedness of his sons, which he suppressed not, neither did he punish them according to their deserts: [n] whose sins were horrible, both in abusing the sacrifice, and profaning and polluting the holy places; though Levi Ben Gerson, to extenuate this filthy offence of forcing the women by the sons of Eli, hath a contrary opinion. In this time therefore it pleased God to cast the Israelites under the swords of the Philistines; of whom there perished in the first encounter 4000, and in the second battle 30,000 footmen; among whom the sons of Eli being slain, their father, (hearing the lamentable success,) by falling from his chair, brake his neck. He was the first that obtained the high priesthood of the stock of Ithamar, the son of Aaron, before whose time it continued successively in the race of Eleazar, the eldest brother of Ithamar: for Aaron was the first, Eleazar the second, Phinees the son of Eleazar the third, Abisue the son of Phinees the fourth, his son Bocci the fifth, Ozi the son of Bocci the sixth, and then Eli, as Josephus and Lyranus out of divers Hebrew authors have conceived. In the race of Ithamar the priesthood continued after Eli to the time of Salomon, who cast out [o] Abiathar, and established Sadok and Achimaas and their successors. The ark of God which Israel brought into the field was in this battle taken by the Philistines. For as David witnesseth, Psal. lxxviii. *God greatly abhorred*

[n] 1 Sam. ii. 22. [o] 1 Kings ii. 27. and 1 Chron. vi.

Israel, so that he forsook the habitation of Shilo; even the tabernacle where he dwelt among men, and delivered his power into captivity, &c.

Now as it pleased God at this time, that the ark whereby himself was represented should fall into the hands of the heathen, for the offences of the priests and people: so did he permit the Chaldeans to destroy the temple built by Salomon; the Romans to overthrow the second temple; and the Turks to overthrow the Christian churches in Asia and Europe. And had not the Israelites put more confidence in the sacrament or representation, which was the ark, than in God himself, they would have observed his laws, and served him only; which whensoever they did, they were then victorious. For after the captivity they had no [p]ark at all, nor in the times of the Maccabees; and yet for their piety it pleased God to make that family as victorious, as any that guarded themselves by the sign instead of the substance. And that the ark was not made to the end to be carried into the field as an ensign, David witnessed when he fled from Absalom. For when the priests would have carried the ark with him, he forbade it, and caused it to be returned into the city, using these words: [q] *If I shall find favour in the eyes of the Lord, he will bring me again: if not, let him do to me as seemeth good in his eyes.*

The Trojans believed, that while their palladium, or the image of Minerva, was kept in Troy, the city should never be overturned: so did the Christians, in the last fatal battle against Saladine, carry into the field, as they were made believe, the very cross whereon Christ died, and yet they lost the battle, their bodies, and the wood. But Chrysostom upon St. Matthew (if that be his work) giveth a good judgment, speaking of those that ware a part of St. John's Gospel about their necks, for an amulet or preservative: *Si tibi ea non prosunt in auribus, quomodo proderunt in collo?* "If "those words do not profit men in their ears, (to wit, the "hearing of the gospel preached,) how should it pro[illegible] "by hanging it about their necks?" For it was ne[illegible]

[p] 1 Sam. v. 6. [q] 2 Sam. xv. 25, 26.

wood of the ark, nor the wood of the cross, but the reverence of the Father, that gave the one for a memory of his covenant, and the faith in his Son, which shed his blood on the other for redemption, that could or can profit them and us, either in this life or after it.

The Philistines returning with the greatest victory and glory which ever they obtained, carried the ark of God with them to Azotus, and set it up, in the house of Dagon their idol; but that night the idol fell out of his place, from above to the ground, and lay under the ark. The morning following they took it up, and set it again in his place, and it fell the second time, and the head brake from the body, and the hands from the arms, shewing that it had nor power nor understanding in the presence of God; for the head fell off, which is the seat of reason and knowledge, and the hands (by which we execute strength) were sundered from the arms. For God and the Devil inhabit not in one house nor in one heart. And if this idol could not endure the representation of the true God, it is not to be marvelled, that at such time as it pleased him to cover his only-begotten with flesh, and sent him into the world, that all the oracles, wherein the Devil derided and betrayed mortal men, lost power, speech, and operation at the instant. For when that true Light, which had never beginning of brightness, brake through the clouds of a virgin's body, shining upon the earth, which had been long obscured by idolatry, all those foul and stinking vapours vanished. Plutarch rehearseth a memorable accident in that age concerning the death of the great god Pan, as he styleth him; where (as ignorant of the true cause) he searcheth his brains for many reasons of so great an alteration; yet finds he none out but frivolous. For not only this old devil did then die, as he supposed, but all the rest, as Apollo, Jupiter, Diana, and the whole rabble became speechless.

Now while the Philistines triumphed after this victory, God struck them with the grievous disease of the hemorrhoids, of which they perished in great numbers: for it is written, that *the Lord destroyed them*. It was therefore by ge-

neral consent ordered, that the ark should be removed from Azotus to Gath, or Geth, another of the five great cities of the Philistines; to prove, as it seemeth, whether this disease were fallen on them by accident, or by the hand of God immediately: but when it was brought to Gath, and received by them, the plague was yet more grievous and mortal: [r] *For the hand of the Lord was against the city with a very great destruction: and he smote the men of the city, both small and great*, &c. And being not yet satisfied, they of Gath sent the ark to Ekron, or Accaron, a third city of the Philistines: but they also felt the same smart, and cried out that themselves and their people should be slain thereby; *for there was a destruction and death throughout all the city.* In the end, by the advice of their priests, the princes of the Philistines did not only resolve to return the ark, but to offer gifts unto the God of Israel, remembering the plague which had fallen on the Egyptians, when their hearts were hardened to hold the people of God from their inheritance and from his service by strong hand. Wherefore confessing the power of the God of Israel to be almighty, and that their own idols were subject thereunto, they agreed to offer a sin-offering, using these words; *So ye shall give glory to the God of Israel: that he may take his hand from you, and from your gods, and from your land*, 1 Sam. vi. 5. And what can be a more excellent witnessing, than where an enemy doth approve our cause? according to Aristotle; *Pulchrum est testimonium, quo nostra probantur ab hostibus.* So did Pharaoh confess the living God, when he was plagued in Egypt; and Nabuchodonosor and Darius, when they had seen his miracles by Daniel.

This counsel therefore of the priests being embraced, and the golden hemorrhoids and the golden mice prepared, they caused two milch kine to be chosen, such as had not been yoked, and a new cart or carriage to be framed; but they durst not drive or direct it to any place certain, thereby to make trial whether it were indeed the hand of God that had s

[r] 1 Sam. v. 9.

them. For if the ark of God were carried towards Bethshemesh, and into the territory of Israel, then they should resolve that from God only came their late destruction. For the Philistines knew that the milch kine, which drew the ark, could not be forced from their calves, but that they would have followed them wheresoever; much less when they were left to themselves, would they travel a contrary way. For in the darkest night in the world, if calves be removed from their dams, the kine will follow them through woods and deserts by the foot, till they find them. But the kine travelled directly towards Bethshemesh; and when they came into the fields thereof, to wit, of one Joshua of the same city, they stood still there; which when the princes of the Philistines perceived, they returned to Ekron: after which, God spared not his own people the Bethshemites, in that they presumed to look into the ark. And because they knew God and his commandments, and had been taught accordingly, he struck them more grievously than he did the heathen, for there perished of them fifty thousand and seventy. From hence the ark was carried to Kirjath-jearim, and placed in the house of Abinadab; where it is written, that it remained twenty years in the charge of Eleazar his son, until David brought it to Jerusalem.

Now whereas it is said, that in the mean while the [s] ark was in Nob, Mispah, and Galgala, it was the tabernacle which was at this time severed from the ark; or at least, it was for the [t] present occasion brought to these places, and anon returned to Kirjath-jearim.

SECT. III.

Of Samuel, and of his government.

THESE tragedies overpast and ended, Samuel, to whom God appeared while he was yet a child, became now judge and governor of Israel. He was descended of the family of [u] Chore, or Korach. For Levi had three sons, Gerson, Cheath, and Merari; Cheath had Amram and Izaar; of

[s] 2 Sam. vi. and 1 Chron. xii.
[t] See in this book, ch. 12. sect. 1. in the margin.
[u] 1 Chron. vi. 22.

Amram came Moses and Aaron; of Izaar, Chore; and of the family of Chore, Samuel. His father Elcana, a Levite, was called an Ephratean; not that the Levites had any proper inheritance, but because he was of mount [x] Ephraim, like as Jesse, David's father, was called an Ephratean, because born at Ephrata, or Bethlehem. Hannah his mother being long fruitless, obtained him of God by prayers and tears: it being an exceeding shame to the Jewish women to be called barren, in respect of the blessing of God both to Abraham, that his seed should multiply as the stars of heaven and the sands of the sea, as in the beginning to Adam, *Increase and multiply*, &c. and in Deuteronomy vii. *There shall be neither male nor female barren among you.*

Samuel was no sooner born, but that his mother, according to her former vow, dedicated him to God and his service, to which she delivered him even from the dug. For as the firstborn of all that were called Nazarites might be redeemed till they were five years old for five shekels, between five years and twenty for twenty shekels; so was it not required by the law that any of the race of the Levites should be called to serve about the tabernacle, till they were twenty-five years old.

St. Peter reckons in the Acts the prophets from Samuel, who was the first of the writers of holy scriptures, to whom usually this name of a prophet was given, and yet did Moses account himself such a one, as in Deuteronomy xviii. 15. *The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a Prophet like unto me*, &c. But he is distinguished from those that preceded him, who were called seers; as 1 Sam. ix. 9. *Beforetime in Israel, when a man went to seek an answer of God, thus he spake, Come, and let us go to the seer:* for he that is now called a prophet was in old time called a seer. And although it pleased God to appear by his angels to Moses, as before to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; yet in the time of

[x] Which region was called Ephrata, as appeareth Judges] xii. 5; whence for distinction we read, Ruth i. 2, *Ephratæi e Bethlehemo Judææ*; "The town Ephratah, which is "Bethlehem in Juda," Gen. xxxv. 19, from the region of Ephrata, which is in mount Ephraim; whence, Psal. cxxxii. 6, Ephrata is put for Silo, which was in the tribe of Ephraim.

Eli there was no manifest vision; not that God had altogether withdrawn his grace from Israel: but as the Chaldean paraphrast hath it, those revelations before Samuel's time were more clouded and obscure. The places wherein [y]Samuel judged were Maspha, or Mitspa, seated on a hill in Benjamin near Juda; also Gilgal and Bethel, of which we have spoken elsewhere.

The Philistines, taking knowledge of the assembly and preparation for war at Mispa in the beginning of Samuel's government, gathered their army, and marched towards the city; at whose approach the Israelites strucken with fear, and with the memory of their former slaughters and servitude, besought Samuel to pray to God for them; who was [z]then performing his sacrifice when the Philistines were in view. But God being moved with Samuel's prayers, (as he was by those of Moses, when Israel fought against the Amalekites at their first entrance into Arabia,) it pleased him with thunder and tempest to disperse and beat down the army of the Philistines, according to the prophecy of Hanna, Samuel's mother: [a] *The Lord's adversaries shall be destroyed; and out of heaven shall he thunder upon them*, &c. Josephus affirms, that a part of the Philistines were swallowed with an earthquake; and that Samuel himself led the Israelites in the prosecution of their victory. After which Samuel erected a monument in memory of this happy success obtained by the miraculous hand of God, which Josephus called *lapidem fortem;* Samuel, Ebenezer, or the stone of assistance: and then following the opportunity and advantage of the victory, the Israelites recovered divers cities of their own formerly lost, and held long in possession of the Philistines, who for a long time after did not offer any invasion or revenge. And the better to attend their purposes, and to withstand any of their attempts, the Israelites made peace with the Amorites, or Canaanites, which lay on

[y] 1 Sam. xiii. See in this book, chap. 12. sect. 1.

[z] Plutarch reports of Numa, the second king of Rome, that when, as he was sacrificing, it was told him that the enemies approached, he, nothing dismayed, answered, *Ego autem sacrifico.*

[a] 1 Sam. ii. 10.

their backs, and to the north of them, that they might not be assaulted from divers parts at once; having the Philistines towards the west and sea-coast, the Canaanite towards the north and east, and the Idumite on the south. The estate being thus settled, Samuel, for the ease of the people, gave audience and judgment in divers places by turns, as hath been elsewhere said.

CHAP. XVI.

Of Saul.

SECT. I.

Of the deliberation to change the government into a kingdom.

BUT when age now began to overtake Samuel, and that he was not able to undergo the burden of so careful a government, he put off from himself the weight of the affairs on his sons, Joel and Abijah, who judged the people at Beersheba, a city the very utmost towards the south of Judæa. And as the place was inconvenient and far away, so were themselves no less removed from the justice and virtue of their father. For the thirst of covetousness the more it swalloweth, the more it drieth and desireth, finding taste in nothing but gain; to recover which they set the law at a price, and sold justice and judgment to the best chapmen. Which when the elders of Israel observed, and saw that Samuel, as a natural man, (though a prophet,) could not so well discern the errors of his own, they prayed him to consent to their change of government, and to make them a king, by whom they might be judged as other nations were; who might also lead them to the war, and defend them against their enemies. For after the ill and lamentable success which followed the rule of Eli his sons, when those of Samuel by their first blossoms promised to yield fruit no less bitter, they saw no way to put the government from out his race, whom they so much reverenced, but by the choice of a king.

In a cause of so great consequence and alteration, Samuel sought counsel from God; which surely he did not for the establishing of his own sons, who being as they were, God would not have approved his election. Now as it appears by the text, this speech or motion displeasing him, he used his best arguments to dehort them; which when he perceived to be over-feeble, he delivered unto them, from God's revelation, the inconveniencies and miseries which should befall them. And yet all which he foreshewed was not intolerable, but such as hath been borne, and is so still by free consent of the subjects towards their princes. For first he makes them know that the king will use their sons in his own service to make them his horsemen, charioteers, and footmen; which is not only not grievous, but by the vassals of all kings, according to their birth and condition, desired; it being very agreeable to subjects of the best quality to command for the king in his wars, and to till the ground no less proper and appertaining to those that are thereto bred and brought up: so are likewise the offices of women-servants to dress meat, to bake bread, and the like. But whereas immediately it is threatened, *He will take up your fields, and your vineyards, and your best olive trees, and give them to his servants*, with other oppressions; this hath given, and gives daily occasion to such as would be ruled by their own discretion, to affirm that Samuel describeth here unto them the power of a king governed by his own affections, and not a king that feareth God. But others, upon further examination, construe this text far otherwise, as teaching us what subjects ought with patience to bear at their sovereign's hand. The former opinion is grounded first upon that place of Deuteronomy xvii. where God foresheweth this change of government from judges to kings, and after he had forbidden many things unto the kings, as many wives, covetousness, and the like, he commandeth that the kings, which were to reign over Israel should write the law of Deuteronomy, or cause it to be written: and to shew how greatly the king should honour the law, he addeth, *It shall be with him, and he shall read*

therein all the days of his life, that he may learn to fear the Lord his God, and to keep all the words of this law and these ordinances for to do them; that he may prolong his days in his kingdom, he and his sons. But to take away any other man's field, say they, is contrary to the laws of God, in the same book written. For it is said, Deut. vi. *That which is just and right shalt thou follow, that thou mayest live.* Now if it be not permitted to carry away [b] grapes more than thou canst eat out of another man's vineyard, but forbidden by God; it is much less lawful to take the vineyard itself from the owner, and give it to another. Neither are the words of the text [c], say they, such as do warrant the kings of Israel, or make it proper unto them, to take at will any thing from their vassals. For it is not said that it shall be lawful for the king, or the king may do this or that; but it is written, that *the king will take your sons:* and again, *This shall be the manner of the king that shall reign over you:* God thereby foreshewing what power, severed from piety, (because it is accountable to God only,) will do in the future. And hereof we find the first example in Achab, who took from Naboth both his vineyard and his life, contrary to the trust which God had put in him, of governing well his people. For God commanded, Deut. xvi. *that his people should be judged with righteous judgment.* Wherefore though the king had offered unto Naboth composition, as a vineyard of better value, or the worth in money, which he refused; yet because he was falsely accused and unjustly condemned, (though by colour of law,) how grievously Achab was punished by God, the scriptures tell us. Neither was it a plea sufficient for Achab against the all-righteous God, to say that it was done without his consent, and by the elders of Israel. For God had not then left his people to the elders, but to the king, who is called a living law, even as David testifieth of himself; *Posuisti me in caput gentium:* for this of St. Augustine is very true; *Simulata innocentia non est innocentia: simulata æquitas non est æquitas: sed duplicatur pec-*

[b] Deut. xxiii. 24. [c] Loyse.

catum in quo est iniquitas et simulatio; "Feigned inno-
"cence and feigned equity are neither the one nor the other;
"but the fault or offence is there doubled, in which there is
"both iniquity and dissimulation." Such in effect is their disputation, who think this place to contain the description of a tyrant. But the arguments on the contrary side, as they are many and forcible, so are they well known to all; being excellently handled in that princely discourse of the true Law of free Monarchies, which treatise I may not presume to abridge, much less here to insert. Only thus much I will say, that if practice do shew the greatness of authority, even the best kings of Juda and Israel were not so tied by any laws, but that they did whatsoever they pleased in the greatest things; and commanded some of their own princes, and of their own brethren, to be slain without any trial of law, being sometime by prophets reprehended, sometime not. For though David confessed his offence for the death of Uriah, yet Salomon killing his elder brother, and others, the same was not imputed unto him as any offence.

That the state of Israel should receive this change of government, it was not only foretold by Moses in Deuteronomy, but prophesied of by Jacob in this scripture: [d] *The sceptre shall not depart from Juda,* &c. It was also promised by God to Abraham for a blessing. For it was not only assured that his issues should in number equal the stars in heaven, but that [e] kings should proceed of him. Which state, seeing it is framed from the pattern of his sole rule who is Lord of the universal; and the excellency thereof, in respect of all other governments, hath been by many judicious men handled and proved, I shall not need to overpaint that which is garnished with better colours already than I can lay on.

In the time of the judges every man hath observed what civil war Israel had; what outrageous slaughters they committed upon each other; in what miserable servitude they lived for many years; and when it fared best with them,

[d] Gen. xlix. xv. [e] Gen. xvii.

they did but defend their own territories, or recover some parts thereof formerly lost. The Canaanites dwelt in the best valleys of the country. The Ammonites held much of Gilead over Jordan; the Philistines the sea-coasts; and the Jebusites Jerusalem itself, till David's time: all which that king did not only conquer and establish, but he mastered and subjected all the neighbour nations and kings, and made them his tributaries and vassals. But whether it were for that the Israelites were moved by those reasons, which allure the most of all nations to live under a monarch, or whether by this means they sought to be cleared from the sons of [f] Samuel, they became deaf to all the persuasions and threats which Samuel used, insisting upon this point, that they would have a king, both to judge them and defend them; whereunto when Samuel had warrant from God to consent, he sent every man to his own city and abiding.

SECT. II.

Of the election of Saul.

AFTER that Samuel had dismissed the assembly at Mizpah, he forbare the election of a king, till such time as he was therein directed by God; who foretold him the day before, that he would present unto him a man of the land of Benjamin, whom he commanded Samuel to anoint. So Samuel went unto Ramath Sophim, to make a feast for the entertainment of Saul, (whom yet he knew not, but knew the truth of God's promises,) and Saul also having wandered divers days to seek his father's asses, at length, by the advice of his servant, travelled towards Ramath, to find out a seer or prophet, hoping from him to be told what way to take to find his beasts. In which journey it pleased God (who doth many times order the greatest things by the simplest passages and persons) to elect Saul, who sought an ass, and not a kingdom: like as formerly it had pleased him to call Moses, while he fed the sheep of Jethro; and after to make choice of [g] David, the youngest of eight sons, and by the scriptures called *a little one*, who was then keep-

[f] 1 Sam. viii. [g] 1 Sam. xvi.

ing of beasts, and changed his sheephook into a sceptre, making him of all other the most victorious king of Juda and Israel. So John and Jacob were taken from casting their nets, to become fishers of men, and honoured with the titles of apostles, a dignity that died not in the grave, as all worldly honours do; but permanent and everlasting in God's endless kingdom.

When Samuel was entered into Ramath, he prepared a banquet for the king, whom he expected, and staid his arrival at the gate. Not long after came Saul, whom God shewed to Samuel, and made him know that it was the same whom he had foretold him of, that he should rule the people of God. Saul finding Samuel in the gate, but knowing him not, though a prophet and judge of Israel, much less knowing the honour which attended him, asked Samuel in what part of the city the seer dwelt; Samuel answered, that himself was the man he sought, and prayed Saul to go before him to the high place, where Samuel setting him according to his degree, above all that were invited, conferred with him afterwards of the affairs of the kingdom, and of God's graces to be bestowed on him, and the morning following anointed him king of Israel.

After this, he told him all that should happen him in the way homeward; that two men should encounter him by Rahel's sepulchre, who should tell him that his asses were found; and that his father's cares were changed from the fear of losing his beasts, to doubt the loss of his son: that he should then meet three other men in the plain of Tabor; then a company of prophets; and that he should be partaker of God's spirit, and prophesy with them; and that thereby his condition and disposition should be changed from the vulgar, into that which became a king elected and favoured by God.

But the prophets here spoken of, men indued with spiritual gifts, were not of the first and most reverenced number, who by divine revelation foretold things to come, reprehended without fear the errors of their kings, and wrought miracles; of which number were Moses, Joshua,

Samuel, and after them Gad, Nathan, Ahias, Elias, Elisæas, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and the rest; for these prophets, saith [h] St. Chrysostome, *omnia tempora percurrunt, præterita, præsentia et futura:* but they were of those of whom St. Paul speaketh, 1 Cor. xiv. 15. who, enriched with spiritual gifts, expounded the scriptures and the law.

At Mispeth Samuel assembled the people, that he might present Saul to them, who as yet knew nothing of his election; neither did Saul acquaint his own uncle therewith, when he asked him what had passed between him and Samuel: for either he thought his estate not yet assured, or else that it might be dangerous for him to reveal it, till he were confirmed by general consent. When the tribes were assembled at Mispeth, the general opinion is, that he was chosen by lot. Chimhi thinks by the answer of [i] Urim and Thummim; that is, by the answer of the priest, wearing that mystery upon his breast when he asked counsel of the Lord. But the casting of lots was not only much used among the Jews, but by many others, if not by all nations. The land of promise was divided by lot; God commanded lots to be cast on the two goats, which should be sacrificed, and which turned off; a figure of Christ's suffering, and our deliverance, for whose garments the Jews also cast lots. [k] Cicero, Plautus, [l] Pausanias, and others, have remembered divers sorts of lots used by the Romans, Grecians, and other nations; as in the division of grounds or honours, and in things to be undertaken: the two first kinds were called diversory, the third divinatory; and into one of these three all may be reduced: all which kinds, howsoever they may seem chanceful, are yet ordered and directed by God: as in the Proverbs; *The lot is cast into the lap, but the whole disposition is of the Lord.* And in like sort fell the kingdom of Israel on Saul, not by chance, but by God's

[h] Chrys. in Psal. xliii.

[i] The Urim and Thummim in the ornaments of the high priest were inserted within the pectoral, which therefore was *duplicatum*, they were placed in the pectoral over against the heart of the high priest. It is plain that they were not the precious stones, nor any thing m[illegible] the artificers. See Exod. xx[illegible]

[k] Cic. de Divin.

[l] Paus. in Mes.

ordinance, who gave Samuel former knowledge of his election: from which election Saul withdrew himself in modesty, as both Josephus consters it, and as it may be gathered by his former answers to Samuel, when he acknowledged himself the least of the least tribe. But Samuel, enlightened by God, found where Saul was hidden, and brought him among the people, and he was taller than all the rest by the shoulders. And Samuel made them know that he was the chosen king of Israel, whereupon all the multitude saluted him king, and prayed for him; yet some there were that envied his glory (as in all estates there are such) who did not acknowledge him by offering him [m] presents, as the manner was; of whom Saul, to avoid sedition, took no notice.

SECT. III.

Of the establishing of Saul by his first victories.

NO sooner was Saul placed in the kingdom, but that he received knowledge that Nahas, king of the Ammonites, prepared to besiege Jabes Gilead; which nation, since the great overthrow given them by Jephta, never durst attempt any thing upon the Israelites, till the beginning of Saul's rule. And although the Ammonites did always attend upon the advantage of time, to recover those territories which first the Amorite and then Israel dispossessed them of, which they made the ground of their invasion in Jephta's time; yet they never persuaded themselves of more advantage than at this present. For first, they knew that there were many of the Israelites that did not willingly submit themselves to this new king; secondly, they were remembered that the Philistines had not long before slain 34,000 of their men of war; and besides had used great care and policy that they should have no smiths to make them swords or spears: neither was it long before that of the Bethshemesites, and places adjoining, there perished by the hand of God more than 50,000, and therefore in these respects, even occasion itself invited them to enlarge their dominions

[m] 1 Sam. x.

upon their borderers; Jabes Gilead being one of the nearest. Besides, it may further be conjectured that the Ammonites were emboldened against Jabes Gilead, in respect of their weakness, since the [n]Israelites destroyed a great part of them, for not joining with them against the Benjamites; at which time they did not only slaughter the men and male children, but took from them their young women, and gave them to the Benjamites; and therefore they were not likely to have been increased to any great numbers: and if they had recovered themselves of this great calamity, yet the Ammonite might flatter himself with the opinion, that Israel, having for long time been disarmed by the Philistines, was not apt to succour those whom they had so deeply wounded and destroyed. But contrarywise when the tidings came to Saul of their danger, and that the Ammonites would give them no other condition to ransom themselves, but by pulling out their right eyes, by which they should be utterly disabled for the war, as elsewhere hath been spoken; Saul, both to value himself in his first year's reign, and because perchance he was descended of one of those 400 maids taken from the Gileadites and given to the Benjamites, gave order to assemble the forces of Israel; hewing a yoke of oxen into pieces, and sending them by messengers over all the coasts, protesting thus, *That whosoever came not forth after Saul and after Samuel, so should his oxen be served;* threatening the people by their goods, and not by their lives at the first. Seven days had Saul to assemble an army, by reason that the Gileadites had obtained the respite of these seven days to give Nahas the Ammonite an answer; who, could they have obtained any reasonable condition, they were contented to have severed themselves from Israel, and to become vassals and tributaries to the heathen. In the mean while Saul assembled the forces which repaired unto him at Bezec, near Jordan, that he might readily pass the river; which done, he might in one day with a speedy march arrive at Jabes, under the hills of Gilead.

[n] Judg. xxi.

The army by [o]Saul led, consisting of 330,000: he returned an answer to those of Jabes, that they should assure themselves of succour by the next day at noon. For as it seemeth Saul marched away in the latter part of the day, and went on all night; for in the morning-watch he surprised the army of Nahas the Ammonite. And to the end that he might set on them on all sides, he divided his force in three parts, putting them to the sword, until the heat of the day, and the weariness of Saul's troops, enforced them to give over the pursuit. Now the Ammonites were become the more careless and secure, in that those of Jabes promised the next morning to render themselves and their city to their mercy. After this happy success, the people were so far in love with their new king, that they would have slain all those Israelites that murmured against his election, had not himself forbidden and resisted their resolutions. Such is the condition of worldly men, as they are violent lovers of the prosperous, and base vassals of the time that flourisheth; and as despiteful and cruel without cause against those whom any misadventure or other worldly accident hath thrown down.

After the army removed, [p]Samuel summoned the people to meet at Gilgal, where Saul was now a third time acknowledged, and, as some commenters affirm, anointed king: and here Samuel used an exhortation to all the assembly, containing precepts, and a rehearsal of his own justice during the beginning of his government to that day. After [q]Saul had now reigned one year before he was established in Gilgal, or Galgala, he strengthened himself with a good guard of 3000 chosen men, of which he assigned 1000 to attend on Jonathan his son at Gibeah, the city of his nativity; the rest he kept about his own person in Micmas, and in the hill of Bethel.

[o] 1 Sam. xi. 8. [p] 1 Sam. xi. [q] 1 Sam. xii.

SECT. IV.

Of Saul's disobedience in his proceedings in the wars with the Philistines and Amalekites, which caused his final rejection.

JONATHAN, with his small army or regiment that attended him, taking a time of advantage, surprised a garrison of Philistines; the same, as some think, which Saul passed by, when he came from Rama, where he was first anointed by Samuel, which they think to have been Cariath-jearim; because a place where the Philistines had a garrison, 1 Sam. x. is called *the hill of God*, which they understand of Cariath-jearim: but Junius understands this garrison to have been at Gebah, in Benjamin near Gibha, where Jonathan abode with his thousand followers. Howsoever, by this it appeareth, that the Philistines held some strong places, both in the times of Samuel and of Saul, within the territory of Israel: and now being greatly enraged by this surprise they assembled [r]30,000 armed chariots, and 6000 horse, wherewith they invaded Judæa, and encamped at Machmas, or Michmas, a city of Benjamin, in the direct way from Samaria to Jerusalem, and in the midst of the land between the sea and Jordan. With this sudden invasion the Israelites were strucken in so great a fear, as some of them hid themselves in the caves of the mountains, other fled over Jordan into Gad and Gilead; Saul himself, with some 2000 men of ordinary, and many other people, stayed at Galgala in Benjamin, not far from the passage of Joshua, when he led Israel over Jordan. Here Saul, by Samuel's appointment, was to attend the coming of Samuel seven days; but when the last day was in part spent, and that Saul perceived his forces to diminish greatly, he presumed (as some expound the place, 1 Sam. xiii. 9.) to exercise the office which appertained not unto him, and to offer a burnt-offering and a peace-offering unto God, contrary to the ecclesiastical laws of the Hebrews, and God's commandments: others expound the word *obtulit*, in this place, by *obtulit per sacerdotem*, and so make the sin of Saul not to have been any intrusion into the priest's office, but first a

[r] 1 Sam. xiii. 5.

disobedience to God's commandment, in not staying according to the appointment, 1 Sam. x. 8; secondly, a diffidence or mistrust in God's help, and too great relying upon the strength of the people, whose departing from him he could not bear patiently; and lastly, a contempt of the holy prophet Samuel, and of the help which the prayers of so godly a man might procure him. But whatsoever was his sin, notwithstanding his excuses, he was by [s]Samuel reprehended most sharply, in terms unfitting his estate, had not extraordinary warrant been given to Samuel so to do from God himself, at which time also Samuel feared not to let him know, that the kingdom should be conferred to another, (a man after God's own heart,) both from [t] Saul and his posterity.

After this, Samuel and Saul returned to Gibeah, where Saul, when he had taken view of his army, found it to consist of 600 men; for the most were fled from him and scattered, yea, and among those that stayed, there was not any that had either sword or spear, but Saul and his son Jonathat only. For the Philistines had not left them any smith in all Israel that made weapons; besides, they that came to [u]Saul came hastily, and left such weapons and armour as they had, behind them in the garrisons: for if they had had none at all, it might be much doubted how Saul should be able the year before, or in some part of this very year, to succour Jabes Gilead with 330,000 men, if there had not now been any iron weapon to defend themselves withal, save only in the hand of Saul and Jonathan his son. But howsoever all the rest of the people were formerly disarmed by the Philistines, and all those craftsmen carried out of the land that made weapons; there being left unto the Israelites only files, to sharpen and amend such stuff as served for the plough, and for nought else; yet that they had some kind of arms it is manifest, or else they durst not have attempted upon the Philistines as they did. And it is not said in the text, that there was not any sword in all Israel, but only that there was not any found amongst those 600 sol-

[s] 1 Sam. xiii. [t] 1 Sam. xiv. [u] 1 Sam. xiii. 7.

diers which stayed with [x] Saul after Samuel's departure; and it seemeth that when Samuel had publicly reprehended Saul, that his own guards forsook him, having but 600 remaining of his 3000 ordinary soldiers, and of all the rest that repaired unto him, of which many were fled from him before Samuel arrived.

With this small troop he held himself to his own city of Gibeah, as a place of more strength and better assured unto him than Gilgal was. Neither is it obscure how it should come to pass that the Philistines should thus disarm the most part of the Israelites, howsoever in the time of Samuel much had been done against them. For the victories of Samuel were not got by sword or spear, but by thunder from heaven; and when these craftsmen were once rooted out of the cities of Israel, no marvel if they could not in a short peace under Samuel be replanted again. For this tyranny of the Philistines is to be understood rather of the precedent times than under Samuel; and yet under him it is to be thought that by their crafts they proceeded in the policy, not suffering their artificers to teach the Israelites, and so even to the times of Saul kept them from having any store of armour. The same policy did Nabuchodonosor use after his conquest in Judæa, Dionysius in Sicily, and many other princes elsewhere in all ages. But these lost weapons in part the Israelites might repair in Gilead; for over Jordan the Philistines had not invaded. The rest of their defences were such as antiquity used, and their present necessity ministered unto them; to wit, clubs, bows, and slings. For the Benjamites exceeded in casting stones in slings: and that these were the natural weapons, and the first of all nations, it is manifest; and so in 1 Chron. xii. 2. it is written of those that came to succour David against Saul, while he lurked at Ziklag, *That they were weaponed with bows, and could use the right and the left hand with stones;* and with a sling it was that David himself slew the giant Goliath.

While the state of Israel stood in these hard terms, the

[x] 1 Sam. xiii. 22.

Philistines having parted their army into three troops, that they might spoil and destroy many parts at once; Jonathan, strengthened by God, and followed with his esquire only, scaled a mountain, whereon a [y] company of Philistines were lodged; the rest of their army (as may be gathered by the success) being encamped in the plain adjoining. And though he were discovered before he came to the hill top, and in a kind of derision called up by his enemies; yet he so behaved himself, as, with the assistance of God, he slew twenty of the first Philistines that he encountered. Whereupon the next companies taking the alarm, and being ignorant of the cause, fled away amazed altogether. In which confusion, fear, and jealousy, they slaughtered one another instead of enemies: whereupon those Hebrews which became of their party, because they feared to be spoiled by them, took the advantage of their destruction, and slew of them in great numbers. And lastly, Saul himself, taking knowledge of the rout and disorder, together with those Israelites that shrouded themselves in mount [z] Ephraim, set upon them, and obtained (contrary to all hope and expectation) a most happy and glorious victory over them. Here was that prophecy in Deuteronomy fulfilled by Jonathan, *That one of those which feared God should kill a thousand, and two of them ten thousand.*

This done, the small army of Israel made retreat from the pursuit. And though Saul had bound the people by an oath not to take food till the evening, yet his son Jonathan, being enfeebled with extreme labour and emptiness, tasted a drop of honey in his passage; for which Saul his father would have put him to death, had not the people delivered him from his cruelty.

The late miraculous victory of Saul and Jonathan seems to have reduced unto the Philistines remembrance of their former overthrow, likewise miraculous, in the days of Samuel; so that for some space of time they held themselves quiet. In the mean while Saul being now greatly encouraged, undertook by turns all his bordering enemies;

[y] 1 Sam. xiv. 12. [z] 1 Sam. xiv.

namely, the [a] Moabites, Ammonites, Edomites, and the Arabians of Zobah; against all which he prevailed. He then assembled all the forces he could make, to wit, 210,000 men, and receiving the commandment of God by Samuel, he invaded Amalec, wasting and destroying all that part of Arabia Petræa, and the Desert, belonging to the Amalekites, from Havilah towards Tigris unto Shur, which bordereth Egypt; in which war he took Agag their king prisoner. But whereas he was instructed by Samuel to follow this nation without compassion, because they first of all other attempted [b] Israel, when they left Egypt in Moses's time: he notwithstanding did not only spare the life of Agag, but reserved the best of the beasts and spoil of the country, with pretence to offer them in sacrifice to the living God. Therefore did Samuel now a second time make him know, that God would cast him from his royal estate to which he was raised when he was of base condition, and, as the text hath it, *little in his own eyes.* And though the offence was great in Saul for not obeying the voice of God by Samuel, had there been no former precept to that effect; yet seeing Saul could not be ignorant how severely it pleased God to enjoin the Israelites to revenge themselves upon that nation, he was in all unexcusable. For God had commanded that the [c] *Israelites should put out the remembrance of Amalec from under heaven.* For the cruelty which the predecessors of this Agag used against the Israelites, especially on those which were overwearied, faint, sick, and aged people, was now to be revenged on him and his nation above 400 years afterwards; and now he was to pay the debt of blood, which his forefathers borrowed from the innocent; himself having also sinned in the same kind, as these words of Samuel witness; [d] *As thy sword hath made other women childless, so shall thy mother be childless among other women:* at which time Samuel himself (after he had been by many bootless entreaties persuaded to stay a while with Saul) did cut Agag in pieces before the Lord in Gilgal, and soon after

[a] 1 Sam. xiv. [b] Exod. xvii. [c] Deut. xxv. 15. [d] 1 Sam. xv. 33.

he departed to Ramath, and *came no more to see Saul, until the day of his death.*

SECT. V.

Of the occurrents between the rejection of Saul and his death.

NOW while Samuel mourned for Saul, God commanded him to choose a king for Israel among the sons of Ishai; which Samuel (doubting the violent hand of Saul) feared in a sort to perform, till it pleased God to direct him how he might avoid both the suspicion and the danger. And if Samuel knew that it was no way derogating from the providence of God, that by his cautious care and wisdom he sought to avoid the inconvenience or dangers of this life, then do those men mistake the nature of his divine ordinance, who, neglecting the reason that God hath given them, do no otherwise avoid the perils and dangers thereof, than as men stupified in the opinion of fate or destiny, neglecting either to beg counsel at God's hand by prayer, or to exercise that wisdom or foresight, wherewith God hath enriched the mind of man for his preservation. Neither did the all-powerful God (who made, and could destroy the world in an instant) disdain here to instruct Samuel to avoid the fury of Saul by the accustomed cautious ways of the world.

Of the sons of Ishai, Samuel, by God directed, made choice of David the youngest, having refused Eliab the first-born; who, though he were a man of a comely person and great strength, yet unto such outward appearance the Lord had no respect. For, as it is written, [c] *God seeth not as man seeth*, &c. *but the Lord beholdeth the heart.* He also, refusing the other six brethren, made choice of one whom his father had altogether neglected, and left in the field to attend his flock, for of him *the Lord said to Samuel, Arise and anoint him, for this is he;* which done, Samuel departed and went to Ramath. Neither was it long after this that Saul began to seek the life of David; in which bloody mind he continued till he died, overcome in battle by the Philistines.

[c] 1 Sam. xvi. 7.

The Philistines having well considered, as it seems, the increase of Saul's power through many victories by him obtained, whilst they had sitten still and forborne to give impediment unto his prosperous courses, thought it good to make new trial of their fortune, as justly fearing that the wrongs which they had done to Israel might be repaid with advantage, if ever opportunity should serve their often injured neighbours against them, as lately it had done against Moab, Ammon, and the rest of their ancient enemies. Now for the quality of their soldiers, and all warlike provisions, the Philistines had reason to think themselves equal, if not superior to Israel. The success of their former wars had for the most part been agreeable to their own wishes: as for late diasters, they might, according to human wisdom, impute them to second causes, as to a tempest happening by chance, and to a mistaken alarm, whereby their army possessed with a needless fear had fallen to rout. Having therefore mustered their forces, and taken the field, encamping so near to the army which king Saul drew forth against them, that they could not easily depart without the trial of a battle, each part kept their ground of advantage for a while, not joining in gross, but maintaining some skirmishes, as refusing both of them to pass the valley that lay between their camps. Just causes of fear they had on both sides; especially the Philistines, whose late attempts had been confounded by the angry hand of God. Upon this occasion perhaps it was, that they sought to decide the matter by single combat, as willing to try in one man's person, whether any stroke from Heaven were to be feared. Goliath of Gath, a strong giant, fearing neither God nor man, undertook to defy the whole host of Israel, provoking them with despiteful words to appoint a champion that might fight with him hand to hand, offering condition, that the party vanquished in champion should hold itself as overcome in gross, and become vassal to the other. This gave occasion to young David, whom Samuel by God's appointment had anointed, to make a famous entrance into public notice of the people. For no man durst expose himself to encounter

the great strength of Goliath, until David (sent by his father of an errand to the camp) accepted the combat, and obtained the victory, without other arms offensive or defensive than a sling, wherewith he overthrew that haughty giant, and after with his own sword struck off his head. Hereupon the Philistines, who should have yielded themselves as subjects to the conqueror, according to the covenant on their own side propounded, fled without stay, and were pursued and slaughtered even to their own gates. By this victory the Philistines were not so broken, that either any of their towns were lost, or their people discouraged from infesting the territories of Israel. But David, by whom God had wrought this victory, fell into the grievous indignation of his master Saul, through the honour purchased by his well deserving. For after such time as the Spirit of God departed from Saul and came upon David, he then became a cruel tyrant, faithless and irreligious [f]. Because the high priest Abimelech fed David in his necessity with hallowed bread, and armed him with the sword of his own conquest taken from Goliath; Saul not only by his wicked Edomite Doeg murdered this Abimelech, and eighty-five priests of Nob, but also he destroyed the city, [g] *and smote with the edge of the sword both man and woman, both child and suckling, both ox and ass, and sheep.* And he that had compassion on Agag the Amalekite, who was an enemy to God and his people, and also spared and preserved the best of his cattle, contrary to the commandment and ordinance of God, both by Moses and Samuel, had not now any mercy in store for the innocent, for the Lord's servants, the priests of Israel. Yea, he would have slain his own son [h] Jonathan, for pitying and pleading David's innocency, as also once before for tasting the honey, when his fainting for hunger made him forget his father's unreasonable commination. The companions of cruelty are, breach of faith towards men, and impiety towards God. The former he shewed in denying David his daughter, whom he had promised him; and again in taking her away from him to whom he had given

[f] 1 Sam. xvi. 13. [g] 1 Sam. xxii. 19. [h] 1 Sam. xxiv.

her; also in that when as David had twice spared his life in the territory of Ziph, and Saul twice sworn to do him no hurt, and confessed his errors, yet he sought still to destroy him by all the means he could. His impiety towards God he shewed, in that he sought counsel of the witch of Endor, which was the last preparative for his destruction. For whereas when he sought counsel from God he had been always victorious; from the oracle of the Devil this success followed, that both himself and his three sons, with his nearest and faithfullest servants, were all slaughtered by the Philistines; his body with the bodies of his sons (as a spectacle of shame and dishonour) were hung over the walls of Bethsan, and there had remained till they had found burial in the bowels of ravenous birds, had not the grateful Gileadites of Jabes stolen their carcasses thence and interred them. This was the end of Saul, after he had governed Israel, together with Samuel, forty years, and by himself after Samuel twenty years, according to [i] Cedrenus, Theophilus, and Josephus. But yet it seemeth to me that, after the death of Samuel, Saul did not rule very long. For in the beginning of the 25th chapter, it is written that Samuel died; and in the rest of the same chapter the passages are written of David, Nabal, and Abigail, after which the death of Saul quickly ensued.

An exceeding valiant man he was, and gave a fair entrance to all those victories which David afterwards obtained; for he had beaten the Ammonites with their neighbouring nations; crushed the Syrians and their adherents; broken the strength of the Amalekites, and greatly wasted the power and pride of the Philistines.

SECT. VI.

Of such as lived with Samuel and Saul; of Hellen and Hercules, and of their issues: upon occasion of the Dores, with the Heraclidæ, entering Peloponnesus about this time.

IN the second year of Samuel, according to Eusebius, was David born; after Codoman later, and in the ninth

[i] Acts xiii. 31. Cedren. p. 69. Theop. l. 3. p. 3. Joseph. l. 28.

year; after Bunting in the tenth. For David, saith he, was thirty years old when he began to reign: whence it followeth, that he was born in the tenth of the forty years which are given to Samuel and Saul. About the eleventh of Samuel, Æneas Silvius, the son of Posthumus, began his reign over the Latins in Alba, who governed that state thirty-one years. There are who place before him Latinus Silvius, as brother to Posthumus, calling him the fifth from Æneas, and fourth king of Alba; whereof I will not stand to dispute. In the eleventh of Samuel, Dercilus sat in the throne of Assyria, being the one and thirtieth king; he ruled that empire forty years. In this age of Samuel, the Dores obtained Peloponnesus, and at once with the Heraclidæ, who then led and commanded the nation, possessed a great part thereof 328 years before the first olympiad, according to Diodorus and Eratosthenes. For all Greece was anciently possessed by three tribes or kindreds, viz. the Ionians, Dorians, and Æolians: at length it was called Hellas, and the people Hellenes, of Hellen, the son of Deucalion, lord of the country of Phthiotis in Thessaly. But before the time of this Hellen, yea and long after, Greece had no name common to all the inhabitants, neither were the people called Hellenes, till such time as partly by trading in all parts of the land, partly by the plantation of many colonies, and sundry great victories obtained, the issues of Hellen had reduced much of the country under their obedience, calling themselves generally by one name, and yet every several nation after some one of the posterity of Hellen, who had reigned over it. And because this is the furthest antiquity of Greece, it will not be amiss to recount the pedigree of her first planters.

Iapetus (as the poets fable) was the son of Heaven and Earth, so accounted, either because the names of his parents had in the Greek tongue such signification, or perhaps for his knowledge in astronomy and philosophy.

Iapetus begat Prometheus and Epimetheus; of whom all men have read that have read poets. Prometheus begat Deucalion; and Epimetheus, Pyrrha. Deucalion and his

wife Pyrrha reigned in Thessaly, which then was called Pyrrha, (as Cretensis Rhianus affirmeth,) of Pyrrha the queen. In Deucalion's time was that great flood of which we have spoken elsewhere. Deucalion begat Hellen: whose sons were Xuthus, Dorus, and Æolus; of Dorus and Æolus, the Dores and Æolians had name. The Æoles inhabited Bœotia. The Dores having first inhabited sundry parts of Thessaly, did afterwards seat themselves about Parnassus, and finally became lords of the countries about Lacedæmon: Xuthus, the eldest son of Hellen, being banished by his brethren for having diverted from them to his own use some part of their father's goods, came to Athens; where marrying the daughter of king Erechtheus, he begat on her two sons, Achæus and Ion. Of these two, Achæus, for a slaughter by him committed, fled into Peloponnesus; and seating himself in Laconia, gave name to that region: from whence (as some write) he afterwards departed; and, levying an army, recovered the kingdom of his grandfather in Thessaly.

Ion being general for the Athenians, when Eumolpus the Thracian invaded Attica, did obtain a great victory, and thereby such love and honour of the people, that they committed the ordering of their state into his hands. He divided the citizens into tribes, appointing every one to some occupation or good course of life. When the people multiplied, he planted colonies in Sycionia, then called Ægialos, or Ægialia: in which country Solinus then reigning, thought it safer to give his daughter Helice in marriage to Ion, and make him his heir, than to contend with him. So Ion married Helice, and built a town called by his wife's name in Ægialia, where he and his posterity reigned long, and (though not obliterating the old name) gave to that land the denomination. But in after-times the Dores, assisting the nephews of Hercules, invaded Peloponnesus, and overcoming the Achæans possessed Laconia, and all those parts which the Achæi had formerly occupied. Hereupon the Achæi, driven to seek a new seat, came unto the Ionos, desiring to inhabit Ægialia with them, and alleging in vain

that Ion and Achæus had been brethren. When this request could not be obtained, they sought by force to expel the Ionians, which they performed; but they lost their king Tisamenes, the son of Orestes, in that war.

Thus were the Iones driven out of Peloponnesus, and compelled to remove into Attica, from whence after a while they sailed into Asia, and peopled the western coast thereof, on which they built twelve cities, inhabited by them even to this day, at the least, without any universal or memorable transmigration. This expedition of the Iones into Asia hath been mentioned of all which have written of that age, and is commonly placed 140 years after the war of Troy, and sixty years after the descent of the Heraclidæ into Peloponnesus. These Heraclidæ were they of whom the kings of Sparta issued; which race held that kingdom about 700 years. Of their father Hercules many strange things are delivered unto us by the poets, of which some are like to have been true, others perhaps must be allegorically understood. But the most approved writers think that there were many called Hercules, all whose exploits were by the Greeks ascribed to the son of Alcmena, who is said to have performed these twelve great labours.

First, he slew the Nemæan lion; secondly, he slew the serpent Hydra, which had nine heads, whereof one being cut off, two grew in the place; the third was the overtaking a very swift hart; the fourth was the taking of a wild boar alive, which haunted mount Erymanthus in Arcady; the fifth was the cleansing of Augeas's ox-stall in one day, which he performed by turning the river Alpheus into it; the sixth was the chasing away of the birds from the lake Stymphalis; the seventh was the fetching a bull from Crete; the eighth was the taking of the mares which Diomedes king of Thrace fed with human flesh; the ninth was to fetch a girdle of the queen of the Amazons; the three last were, to fetch Geryon's beeves from Gades, the golden apples of the Hesperides, and Cerberus from hell. The mythological interpretation of these I purposely omit, as both overlong to be here set down, and no less perplexed than the labours them-

selves. For some by Hercules understand fortitude, prudence, and constancy, interpreting the monsters, vices. Others make Hercules the sun, and his travels to be the twelve signs of the zodiac. There are others who apply his works historically to their own conceits; as well assured, that the exposition cannot have more unlikelihood than the fables, that he took Elis, Pylus, Œchalia, and other towns, being assisted by such as either admired his virtues, or were beholden unto him. Also that he slew many thieves and tyrants I take to be truly written, without addition of poetical vanity. His travels through most parts of the world are, or may seem, borrowed from Hercules Libycus. But sure it is that many cities in Greece were greatly bound to him; for that he (bending all his endeavours to the common good) delivered the land from much oppression. But after his death no city of Greece (Athens excepted) requited the virtue and deserts of Hercules with constant protection of his children, persecuted by the king Eurystheus. This Eurystheus was son of Sthenelus, and grandchild of Perseus; he reigned in Mycenæ, the mightiest city then in Greece. He it was that imposed those hard tasks upon Hercules, who was bound to obey him (as poets report) for expiation of that murder which in his madness he had committed upon his own children; but, as others say, because he was his subject and servant: wherefore there are who commend Eurystheus for employing the strength of Hercules to so good a purpose. But it is generally agreed by the best writers, that Hercules was also of the stock of Perseus, and holden in great jealousy by Eurystheus, because of his virtue, which appeared more and more in the dangerous services wherein he was employed, so that he grew great in reputation and power through all Greece, and had by many wives and concubines above threescore children. These children Eurystheus would fain have got into his power, when Hercules was dead; but they fled unto Ceyx, king of Trachinia, and from him (for he durst not withstand Eurystheus) to Athens. The Athenians not only gave them entertainment, but lent them aid, wherewith they en-

countered Eurystheus. Iolaus, the brother's son of Hercules, who had assisted him in many of his travels, was captain of the Heraclidæ. It is said of him, that being dead, he obtained leave of Pluto to live again till he might revenge the injuries done by Eurystheus; whom when he had slain in battle, he died again. It seems to me, that whereas he had led colonies into Sicily, and abode there a long time forgotten, he came again into Greece, to assist his cousins, and afterwards returned back. When the Peloponnesians understood that Eurystheus was slain, they took Atreus, the son of Pelops, to their king; for he was rich, mighty, and favoured of the people. Against him the Heraclidæ marched under Hyllus, the son of Hercules. But to avoid effusion of blood, it was agreed, that Hyllus should fight with Echenus, king of the Tegeatæ, a people of Arcadia, who assisted Atreus, with condition that if Hyllus were victor, he should peaceably enjoy what he challenged as his right; otherwise the Heraclidæ should not enter Peloponnesus in 100 years. In that combat Hyllus was slain, and the Heraclidæ compelled to forbear their country till the third generation; at which time they returned under Aristodemus, (as the best authority shews, though some have said that they came under the conduct of his children,) and brought with them the Dores, whom they planted in that country, as is before shewed, having expelled the Achæi, over whom the issue of Pelops had reigned after the death of Eurystheus four generations.

SECT. VII.

Of Homer and Hesiod, and many changes in the world that happened about this age.

ABOUT this time that excellent learned poet Homer lived, as many of the best chronologers affirm. He was by race of the Mæones, descended (as [k]Functius imagineth) of Berosus's Anamæon, who gave name to that people. But this Functius imagineth Homer the poet to have been long

[k] Fun. Chro. fol. 11. col. D.

after these times, rashly framing his era according to [l] Archilochus in the tract, or rather fragment, *de Temporibus*; and makes seven more of this name to have flourished in divers cities in Greece: whence perhaps sprang the diversity of opinions both of the time and of the native city of Homer. According to this Archilochus, Functius finds Homer about the time of Manasseh king of Juda, and Numa of Rome. He was called Melesigenes, from the place of his birth, and at length Homer, because blind men follow a guide, which signification, among others, is in the verb ὁμηρεῖν; for this Homer in his latter time was blind. [m] Clemens Alexandrinus recites many different opinions touching the question of the time when Homer lived. So also [n] Aulus Gellius, and Tatianus Assyrius, in his oration *ad Gentes*. Paterculus reckons that Homer flourished 950 years before the consulship of Marcus Vinutius; which Mercator casteth up in the world's year 3046, and after Troy taken, about 260 years; and about 250 years before the building of Rome; making him to have flourished about the time of Jehosaphat, king of Juda. But Clemens Alexandrinus and Tatianus above named, mention authors that make him much ancienter. The difference of which authors in this point is not unworthy the reader's consideration, that by this one instance he may guess of the difficulty, and so pardon the errors in the computations of ancient time; seeing in such diversity of opinions a man may hardly find out what to follow. For Crates the grammarian (as Clemens Alexandrinus reports) gave being to Homer about eighty years after Troy taken, near the time that the Heraclidæ returned into Peloponnesus; and [o] Eratosthenes after Troy 100 years: Theopompus 500 years after the army of Greece sailed into Phrygia for the war of Troy. Euphorion makes him contemporary with Gyges, who began to reign in the

[l] This author, set out with Berosus and others, first at Basil, and after with friar Annius's comment at Antwerp, is *incertæ fidei*. Naucler. f. 147. placeth Homer in the thirty-second generation in the time of Samuel.

[m] Stromatum, l. 5.

[n] Noct. Attic. l. 3. c. 11. Item, l. 17. c. 21.

[o] As both Clem. Alex. and Tatian. Assyr. report his opinion, Rerum Phil. 43. Ros. in Disc. Tempor[illegible]il. in Comm. in Archilog.

18th olympiad; (which was forty-five years after Rome was built;) and Sosibius saith, that he was ninety years before the first olympiad; which he seeks to prove by the times of Charillus, and his son Nicander. Philochorus placeth him 180 after Troy; Aristarchus 140, in the time of the seating of the colonies in Ionia. Apollodorus affirms, that he lived while Agesilaus governed Lacedæmon; and that Lycurgus in his young years, about 100 years after the Ionian plantations, came to visit him, near 240 years after Troy taken. [p] Herodotus finds Homer flourishing 622 years before Xerxes's enterprise against the Grecians; which Beroaldus accounteth at 168 years after the Trojan war. Eusebius seems to make him to have been about the time of Joash, king of Juda, 124 years before Rome built; though elsewhere in his chronology he notes, that some place him in the time of Samuel, and others in the end of David, and others in other ages. In his evangelical preparation, where out of Tatianus Assyrius he citeth sundry opinions touching the time when Homer lived, he reckoneth many other Greek writers more ancient than Homer; as Linus, Philammon, Epimenides, Phemius, Aristæus, Orpheus, Musæus, Thamyras, Amphion, and others.

Now whether Homer or Hesiodus were the elder, it is also much disputed. [q] Aulus Gellius reports, that Philochorus and Xenophanes affirm, that Homer preceded Hesiod; and on the contrary, that Luc. Accius the poet, and Ephorus the historian, make Hesiod of an elder time than Homer. [r] Varro leaves it uncertain which of these learned fablers was first born; but he finds that they lived together some certain years, wherein he confirms himself by an epigram written upon a trevit, and left by Hesiod in Helicon.

[s] Cornelius Nepos reports, that they both lived 160 years before Rome built; while the Silvii reigned in Alba about [t] 140 years after the fall of Troy. [u] Euthymenes finds them both 200 years after Troy taken, in the time of Aca-

[p] Her. in Vita Hom.
[q] Noct. Attic. l. 3. c. 11.
[r] Varro de Imag. l. 1.
[s] Nep. in Chron. Cassel. 1. Annal.
[t] This number Mercator corrects, and reads 240 for it.
[u] Euthym. in Chr. apud Clem. Al. Strom. 5.

stus the son of Pelias, king of Thessaly. For myself, I am not much troubled when this poet lived; neither would I offend the reader with these opinions, but only to shew the uncertainty and disagreement of historians, as well in this particular as in all other questions and disputes of time. For the curiosity of this man's age is no less ridiculous, than the inquisition why he began his Iliads with the word *Menin*, as perhaps containing some great mystery. In derision whereof, Lucian feigning himself to have been in hell, and to have spoken with Homer, there asked him the cause why he began his book with that word; who answered, that he began in that sort, because it came in his head so to do.

It seemeth that Senyes, or, after Macrobius, Senemires, ruled Egypt at this time; for Tanephersobris was his successor, who preceded Vaphres, father-in-law to Solomon.

About the end of Saul's government, or in the beginning of David's time according to [x] Cassiodorus, the Amazons with the Cimmerians invaded Asia, Latinus Sylvius then ruling in Italy. And besides the overthrow of that famous state of Troy, (which fell 103 years before David's time,) there were many other changes in the middle part of the world, not only by reason of those northern nations; but there sprung up, somewhat nearly together, six kingdoms into greatness, not before erected. In Italy, that of the Latins; in the south part of Greece, those of Lacedæmon, Corinth, and the Achæi. In Arabia, Syria Soba, and Damascus, the Adads made themselves princes, of which there were ten kings, which began and ended with the king of Israel in effect: and somewhat before these, the state of the Israelites, having now altered their form of government, began to flourish under kings, of which David, in a few years, became master of all those neighbouring nations, who by interchange of times had subjected the Judæans, corrupted their religion, and held them under in a most abject and grievous slavery; to wit, the Edumeans, Moabites, Ammonites, Midianites, Itureans, and the rest of the Ara-

[x] Eus. et Cass. in Chron.

bians, with the Philistines, Jebusites, Geshurites, Machathites, all which acknowledged David for their sovereign lord, and paid him tribute.

CHAP. XVII.

Of David.

SECT. I.

Of David's estate in the time of Saul.

THE hazards which David ran into while he was yet only designed king, and, living as a private man, expected the empire, were very many. The first personal act of fame was his killing of Goliath in the view of both armies, whereby he became known to Saul, and so highly affected of Jonathan the son of Saul, that he loved him as his own soul; insomuch, as when Saul sought to persuade his son that David would assuredly be the ruin of his house and estate, and offered him violence when he pleaded his cause, Jonathan could never be persuaded, never forced, nor ever wearied from the care of David's life and well doing. It was not long after this signal act of David's, but that Saul became exceeding jealous of him, though he were become as his household servant, and his esquire, or armour-bearer. Saul, being vexed with an evil spirit, was advised to procure some cunning musician to play before him upon the harp, whereby it was thought that he might find ease; which came to pass accordingly. He entertained David for this purpose, and began to favour him, giving him a place of command among the men of war. But the jealous tyrant soon waxed weary of his good affections, and sought to kill David, being thereunto moved only through envy of his virtue. This passion first brake forth in the midst of his raving fit, at which time he threw a spear at David, that was then playing on his harp to do him ease.

[y] Censorinus remembereth one Asclepius, a physician, who practised the curing of the phrensy by the like music, and tempted thereby those diseases which grew from passion. That Pythagoras did also the like by such a kind of harmony, Seneca, in his third book of anger, witnesseth. But the madness of Saul came from the Cause of causes, and was thereby incurable, howsoever it sometimes left him, and yielded unto that music which God had ordained to be a mean of more good to the musician than to the king.

Saul, having failed in such open attempts, gave unto David the commandment of 1000 soldiers, to confront the Philistines withal. For he durst not trust him, as before, about his person, fearing his revenge. Now the better to cover his hatred towards him, he promised him his daughter Merab to wife; but having married her to Adriel, he gave to David his younger daughter Michol, but with a condition to present him with an hundred foreskins of the Philistines; hoping rather (in respect of the valour of that nation) that the Philistines would take David's head, than he their foreskins. This hope failing, when as now David's victories begat new fears and jealousies in Saul, he practised with Jonathan, and afterwards with his own hands attempted his life; but his purposes were still frustrated. After all this, he sought to murder him in his own house, but Michol his wife delivered him [z]. So David sought Samuel at Ramah, and being pursued by Saul, fled thence unto Nob in Benjamin to Abimelech, then to Achis the Philistine, prince of Gath [a]; where to obscure himself, he was forced to counterfeit both simplicity and distraction. But being ill assured among the Philistines, he covered himself in the cave of Adullam; and after conveying such of his kinsfolks as were not fit to follow him, into Moab, he hid himself in the deserts of [b] Ziph, Maon, and the hills of Engaddi, where he cut off the lap of Saul's garments, and spared his life; as he did a second time in the desert of [c] Ziph, after

[y] Cens. c. 12. et 14.
[z] 1 Sam. xix.
[a] 1 Sam. xxi.
[b] 1 Sam. xxiv.
[c] 1 Sam. xxvi.

his passage with Nabal and Abigail. After which he repaired to Achis of Gath the second time, and was kindly entertained in regard of the hatred with which his master Saul was known to prosecute him.

Of Achis David obtained [d] Siklag in Simeon, pretending to invade Judæa; but he bent his forces another way, and struck the Amalekites, with other enemies of Israel, letting none live to complain upon him. Achis, supposing that David had drawn blood of his own nation, thought himself assured of him; and therefore preparing to invade Israel, summoneth David to assist him, who dissembling his intent, seemeth very willing thereto. But the rest of the Philistine princes, knowing his valour, and doubting his disposition, liked not his company, and therefore he withdrew himself to Siklag. At his return he found the town burnt, his two wives, with the wives and children of his people, taken by the Amalekites: hereupon his fellows mutinied, but God gave him comfort and assurance to recover all again; which he did.

This army of the Philistines, commanded by Achis, encountered Saul at Gilboa, in which he and his three sons were slain. The news with Saul's crown and bracelets were brought to David, at Siklag, in his return from being victorious over Amalek, by a man of the same nation, who [e] avowed (though falsely) that himself, at Saul's request, had slain him. David, because he had accused himself, made no scruple to cause him to be slain at the instant; and the sooner, because the probabilities gave strong evidence withal. Otherwise it followeth not that every man ought to be believed of himself to his own prejudice. For it is held in the law, [f] *Confessio reorum non habenda est pro explorato crimine, nisi approbatio alia instruit religionem cognoscentis;* "The prisoner's confession must not "be taken for an evidence of the crime, unless some other "proof inform the conscience of the judge." For a man

[d] It seemeth that Simeon never obtained Siklag till this time, for it is said in the 1st of Sam. xxvii. 6. *therefore Siklag pertaineth unto the king of Juda unto this day.*

[e] 2 Sam. i.

[f] In F. de Quæst. l. prim.

may confess those things of himself, that the judge by examination may know to be impossible. But because it is otherwise determined in the title *de Custodia Reorum l. si confessus, et in cap. de Pœnis l. qui sententiam*, therefore doth the gloss reconcile these two places in this sort: *Si quis in judicio sponte de seipso confiteatur, et postea maneat in confessione, id est satis;* "If any man in judgment do "confess of himself, of his own accord, and after doth per-"severe in his confession, it is enough." That David greatly bewailed Saul, it is not improbable; for death cutteth asunder all competition; and the lamentable end that befell him, being a king, with whom, in effect, the strength of Israel also fell, could not but stir up sorrow and move compassion in the heart of David.

The victory which the Philistines had gotten was so great, that some towns of the Israelites, even beyond the river of Jordan, were abandoned by the inhabitants, and left unto the enemy, who took possession of them without any resistance made. Wherefore it may seem strange, that a nation so warlike and ambitious as were the Philistines, did not follow their fortune with all diligence, and seek to make the conquest entire. Most like it seems, that the civil war immediately breaking out between David and the house of Saul, wherein Juda was divided from the rest of Israel, gave them hope of an easy victory over both; and thereby caused them to attempt nothing at the present, lest by so doing they should enforce their disagreeing enemies to a necessary reconciliation; but rather to permit that the one part should consume the other, by which means both the victors and the vanquished would become a prey to the violence of such as had beaten them when their forces were united.

SECT. II.

Of the beginning of David's reign, and the war made by Abner for Ishbosheth.

AFTER the death of Saul, Abner, who commanded for Saul in the war, sought to advance Ishbosheth, (or Jebostus, according to Josephus,) though he had no right to the

kingdom of Israel; for Mephibosheth, the first son of Jonathan, lived. Against this Abner and Ishbosheth David made a defensive war, till Abner passed Jordan, and entered the border of Juda; at which time he sent Joab with such forces as he had, to resist Abner; Ishbosheth remaining in Gilead, and David in Hebron. The armies encountered each other near Gibeon, where it seemeth that Abner made the offer to try the quarrel by the hands of a few; like to that combat between the Lacedæmonians and the Argives, remembered by Herodotus, 300 being chosen of each nation; of which number three persons were only left unslain. The like trial by a far less number was performed by the Horatii and Curiatii for the Romans and Latins. The same challenge Goliath the Philistine made, whom David slew; a custom very ancient. Edward the Third offered the like trial in his own person to the French king; and Francis the French king to Charles the emperor. There were twelve chosen of each part, in this war of David with the house of Saul, to wit, so many of Benjamin, and as many of Juda; whose force and valour was so equal, as there survived not any one to challenge the victory. But the quarrel stayed not here; for the army of Juda pressed Abner in gross, and brake him. Three hundred and sixty men of Abner's companions were slain, and but twenty of Juda; whereof Asahel, the brother of Joab, was one; who when he would needs pursue [g] Abner, and by Abner's persuasions could not be moved to quit him, he was forced to turn upon him, wounding him to death with the stroke of his spear. For though Asahel were an excellent footman, and as it is written in the text, *as light as a wild roe*, and as Josephus reporteth, contended not only with men but with horses, and hoped to have gotten great fame, if he could have mastered Abner, (who, as Asahel persuaded himself, had by being overthrown, and flying away, lost his courage,) yet here it fell out true, [h] that *the race is not to the swift*.

That this civil war lasted two years, we find it written in

[g] 2 Sam. ii. [h] Eccles. ix.

2 Sam. ii. 10. though in the beginning of the third it is again made probable, that this contention dured longer; and therefore the matter resteth still in dispute, and some of the rabbins conceive, that Ishbosheth had then reigned two years when this was written, the war as yet continuing a longer time. For Abner held for the party of Ishbosheth after this, and till such time as there grew jealousy between him and Ishbosheth for Saul's concubine: neither did the death of Ishbosheth instantly follow; but how long after the murder of Abner it happened, the same doth not certainly appear.

SECT. III.

Of the death of Abner slain by Joab, and of Ishbosheth by Rechab and Baanah.

ABNER, reconciled to David, was anon by [i] Joab murdered; for Joab could not endure a companion in David's favour, and in the commandment of his forces, by which he was grown so powerful, as David forbare to call him to account: for thus much he confesseth of himself: [k] *I am this day weak; and these men the sons of Zeruiah be too hard for me.* In this sort David complained after Abner's death; and to make it clear that he hated this fact of Joab, he followed him with this public imprecation; [l] *Let the blood fall on the head of Joab, and on all his father's house; and let them be subject to ulcers, to the leprosy, to lameness, to the sword, and to poverty,* &c. For could any thing have withstood the ordinance of God, this murder committed by Joab might greatly have endangered David's estate, Abner being the mouth and trust of all the rest of the tribes not yet reconciled. This mischance therefore David openly bewailed, so that all Israel perceived him to be innocent of that fact. The place which Abner held, being general of the men of war, was of such importance, that the kings themselves were fain to give them great respect, as hath been already shewed more at large. This office [illegible] held in the army of Juda, and thought himself wo[illegible]old the place entire, if once his lord might obta[illegible]

[i] 2 Sam. iii. 27. [k] 2 Sam. iii. 39.

kingdom. For he was near to David in kindred, and had been partaker of all his adversity; wherefore he did not think it meet, that an old enemy should in reward of new benefits be made his partner. Indeed he was by nature so jealous of his dignity and place, that he afterwards slew Amasa, his own kinsman, and the king's, upon the same quarrel, taking it in high disdain to see him joined with himself as captain of the host of Juda; much less could he brook a superior, and such a one as had slain his brother, and been beaten himself in battle. But howsoever Joab did hate or despise Abner, David esteemed highly of him as of a prince, and a great man in Israel, excusing the oversight, by which he might seem to have perished, by affirming, that he died not like a fool nor a man vanquished, [m] but *as a man falleth before wicked men, so*, said he, *didst thou fall.* And certainly it is no error of wit nor want of valour and virtue in him, whom a stronger hand destroyeth unawares, or whom subtlety in free trust bringeth to confusion. For all under the sun are subject to worldly miseries and misadventures. Howsoever Ishbosheth meant to have dealt with Abner, yet when he heard of his death he despaired greatly of his estate, and with him all Israel were possessed with great fear; insomuch as two of Ishbosheth's own captains, Rechab and Baanah, murdered Ishbosheth, and, presenting his head to [n] David, received the same reward that the Amalekite lately did for pretending to have slain Saul. Ishbosheth being dead, all the elders of Israel repaired to David at Hebron, where he was the third and last time anointed by general consent.

SECT. IV.

Of the flourishing time of David's kingdom, the taking of Jerusalem, with two overthrows given to the Philistines, and the conduction of the ark to the city of David.

WHEN David was now established in the kingdom, his first enterprise was upon the Jebusites, who, in derision of his force, and confident in the strength of the place, (as is

[m] 2 Sam. iii. 34. [n] 2 Sam. iv.

thought,) manned their walls with the blind and lame of their city[o], which David soon after entered; all their other forces notwithstanding. For having mastered the fort of *Zion*, (which was afterward the city of David,) he became lord of Jerusalem without any great danger, expelling thence the Jebusites, who had held it from the foundation to the times of Moses and Joshua, and after them almost 400 years. There are who expound this place otherwise: *Except thou take away the blind and the lame, thou shalt not come in hither*. For some think that it was meant by the idols of the Jebusites; others, that it had reference to the covenant made long before with Isaac and Jacob: the one blind by nature and age, the other made lame by wrestling with the angel, and that therefore till those (that is, till that covenant) be broken, David ought not to molest them. But for myself I take it with Josephus, that they armed their walls with certain impotent people at first, in scorn of David's attempt. For they that had held their city about four hundred years against all the children of Israel, Joshua, the Judges, and Saul, did not doubt but to defend it also against David.

When he had now possessed himself of the very heart and centre of the kingdom, and received congratulatory ambassadors and presents from Hiram, king of Tyre; he entertained divers other concubines, and married more wives, by whom he had ten sons in Jerusalem, and by his former wives he had six in Hebron, where he reigned seven years.

The Philistines hearing that David was now anointed king, as well of Juda as of Israel, they thought to try him in the beginning, before he was fully warm in his seat. And being encountered by David at two several times in the [p]*valley of Rephaim*, or of the giants, they were at both times overthrown. After which he called the place Baalperazim.

Then David assembled 30,000 choice Israelit[illegible] conduct the ark of God from the house of Abinad[illegible] to the city of David, which business was int[illegible]

[o] 2 Sam. v. [p] Ibid.

the death of Uzzah the son of Abinadab, whom the Lord slew for presuming to touch the ark, though it were with intent to stay it from taking harm when it was shaken. But after three years it was with great solemnity brought into the city with sacrifices, music, dances, and all signs of joyfulness, in which David himself gladly bare a part. Hereupon Michol derided him for dancing before the ark, and afterward told him in scorn, *That he was uncovered as a fool in the eyes of the maidens his servants;* namely, that he forgat his regal dignity both in apparel and behaviour, and mixed himself among the base multitude, dancing as fools do in the ways and streets; not that she disliked David's behaviour, (as I take it,) though she made it the colour of her derision. But rather the abundant grief which this spectacle stirred up, beholding the glory of her husband to whom she was delivered lastly by force, and remembering the miserable end of her father and brethren, out of whose ruins she conceived that the son of Ishai had built this his greatness, together with the many new wives and concubines embraced since his possession of Jerusalem, made her break out in those despiteful terms, for which she remained barren to her death.

This done, [q] David consulted with the prophet Nathan for the building of the temple or house of God; but was forbidden it, because he was a man of war, and had shed blood. So greatly doth the Lord and King of all detest homicide; having threatened, not in vain, that he would require the blood of man at the hand of man and beast. The wars which David had made were just, and the blood therein shed was of the enemies of God and his church; yet for this cause it was not permitted that his hands should lay the foundation of that holy temple. Hereby it appears how greatly those princes deceive themselves, who think by bloodshed, and terror of their wars, to make themselves in greatness like to the Almighty, which is a damnable pride; not caring to imitate his mercy and goodness, or seek the blessedness promised by our Saviour unto the peacemakers.

[q] 1 Chron. xiii.

Now although it was not pleasing to the Lord to accept a temple of David's founding, yet was his religious intent so well accepted, that hereupon he received both a confirmation of the kingdom to him and his heirs, and that happy promise of the everlasting throne that should be established in his seed.

SECT. V.

The overthrow of the Philistines and Moabites.

SOON after this, David overthrew the Philistines, which made them altogether powerless, and unable to make any invasion upon Israel in haste[r]. For it is written, *Accepit frænum Amgaris e manu Philistæorum;* which place our English Geneva converts in these words; *And David took the bridle of bondage out of the hand of the Philistines.* The Latin of[s] Junius giveth another and a better sense; for by that bridle of Amgar was meant the strong city of Gath, or Geth, and so the Geneva hath it in the marginal note. This city of Gath was the same which was afterward Dio-Cæsarea, set on the frontier of Palestina at the entrance into Judæa and Ephraim. From thence they made their incursions, and thereinto their retreat in all their invasions, which being taken by David and demolished, there was left no such frontier town of equal strength to the Philistines on that part. The hill whereon Geth, or Gath, stood, the Hebrews call Ammæ, whereof and of the word Gar is made Amgar, of which Pliny in his 1st book and 13th chapter. This exposition is made plain and confirmed in the 1st of Chron. chap. xviii.

There was no nation bordering the Jews that so greatly afflicted them as the Philistines did, who before the time of Saul (to the end they might not sharpen any weapon against them) did not leave one smith in all their cities and villages of that kind, but enforced them to come down into their territory [t]for all iron work whatsoever they needed; so as the Israelites till this time of David were seldom free from paying tribute to the Philistines.

[r] 2 Sam. viii. 1.
[s] Junius in c. 8. of the second of Samuel.
[t] 1 Sam. xiii.

After this, he gave them four other overthrows; but the war of the Moabites and Arabians came between. In the first of which he was endangered by Ishbi-benob, the head of whose spear weighed 300 shekels of brass, which make nine pound three quarters of our poizes; at which time [u] Abishai succoured David and slew the Philistines, whereupon the counsellors and captains of David (lest the light of Israel might by his loss be quenched) vowed, that he should not thenceforth hazard himself in any battle. The second and third encounter and overthrow of the Philistines was at Gob, a place near Gesar, and the last at Gath, or Geth. And being now better assured of the Philistines by the taking of Geth, he invaded Moab, from whom notwithstanding in his adversity he sought succour, and left his parents with him in trust. But whether it were the same king or no, it is not known.

The rabbins feign that Moab slew those kinsfolks of David, which lived under his protection in Saul's time; but questionless David well knew how that nation had been always enemies to Israel, and took all the occasions to vex them that were offered. And he also remembered, that in the twenty-third of Deuteronomy God commanded Israel not to seek the peace or prosperity of the Moabites, which David well observed, for he destroyed two parts of all the people, leaving a third to till the ground. This victory obtained, he led his army by the border of Ammon towards Syria Zobah, the region of Adadezer the son of Rehob, king thereof. The place is set down in the description of the Holy Land; to which I refer the reader.

SECT. VI.

The war which David made upon the Syrians.

IT is written in the text, *David smote also Hadadezer*, &c. *as he went to recover his border at the river Euphrates.* Now whether the words, *as he went to recover his border*, be referred to David or Hadadezer, it is not agreed upon. Junius thinks that the article *he* hath relation to David, who,

[u] 2 Sam. xxi. 17.

finding Tohu oppressed by Hadadezer, overthrew the one, and succoured the other. But the ancient and most received opinion, that this recovery hath reference to the Syrian, is more probable. For if David had intended any such enterprise towards Euphrates, he was in far better case to have proceeded after his victory than before; seeing that (Adadezer being taken) he had now left no enemy on his back, either to pursue him, to take victuals and supplies from him, or to stop the passages of the mountains upon him at his return.

Again, seeing David was either to pass through a part of Arabia the Desert, or by the plains of Palmyrena, his army consisting of footmen, for the most, if not all; he had now both horse and chariots good store to carry his provisions through those uncultivated places, by which he was to have marched before he could have reached Euphrates, or any part thereof. But we find that David returned to Jerusalem, after he had twice overthrown the Syrian army, not bending his course towards the river Euphrates, but seeking to establish his purchases already made. Whereby it may appear, that it was the Syrian, and not king David, that was going to enlarge his border, as afore is said.

The king of Syria Damascena and of Damascus, whereof that region is so called, hearing that Adadezer was overthrown by the Israelites, fearing his own estate, and the loss of his own country which adjoined to Syria Zobah of Hadadezer, sent for an army of Aramites or Syrians to his succour; but these, as it appeareth, came too late for Adadezer, and too soon for themselves; for there perished of those supplies 22,000. This king of Damascus, Josephus (out of Nicolaus, an ancient historian) calleth Adad, who was also of the same name and family as all those other Adads were; which now began to grow up in greatness, and so continued for ten descents, till they were extinguished by the Assyrians, as is shewed heretofore. David, having now reduced Damascus under his obedience, left [illegible] therein as he did in Edom, having also sacked [illegible] cities of Betah and Berathi, belonging to Adad[illegible]

cities Ptolemy calleth Betah, Tauba; and Berathi he nameth Barathena. [x] Tohu, or Thoi, whose country of Hamath joined to Adadezer, (as in the description of the Holy Land the reader may perceive,) sent his son Joram to congratulate this success of David; partly because he had war with Adadezer, and partly because he feared David now victorious. He also presented David with vessels of gold, silver, and brass, all which, together with the golden shields of the Aramites, and the best of all the spoils of other nations, David dedicated unto God at his return. Junius translates the words *clypeos aureos* by *umbones*, as if all the parts of the targets were not of gold, but the bosses only. The Septuagint call them bracelets; Aquila, golden chains. But because Roboam made shields of brass in place of these of Adadezer, at such time as Shicah the Egyptian sacked the temple of Jerusalem, it may be gathered thereby that those of Adadezer were golden shields.

This done, David sent ambassadors to Hanum, king of the Ammonites, to congratulate his establishment in his father's kingdom [y]; for David, in the time of his affliction under Saul, had been relieved by Nahash, the father of Hanum. But this Ammonite being ill advised, and overjealous of his estate, used David's messengers so barbarously and contemptuously, (by curtailing their beards and their garments,) as he thereby drew a war upon himself, which neither his own strength nor all the aids purchased could put off or sustain. For notwithstanding that he had waged 33,000 soldiers of the Amalekites and their confederates; to wit, of the vassals of Adadezer 20,000, and of [z] Maachah and Ishtob 13,000, (for which he disbursed a thousand talents of silver;) yet all these great armies, together with the strength of the Ammonites, were by [a] Joab and his brother Abishai easily broken and put to ruin, and that without any great loss or slaughter at that time. And it is written, that when the Aramites fled, the Ammonites also retreated into

[x] 2 Sam. viii.
[y] 2 Sam. x.
[z] Maachah, the north part of Trachonitis, remembered in Deut. iii. 14. Ishtob, or Thob, a country near Gad, under the rocks of Arnon.
[a] 2 Sam. x.

their cities, the one holding themselves within the walls, the other in their deserts adjoining, till Joab was returned to Jerusalem.

Hadadezer, hearing that Joab had dismissed his army, assembled his forces again, and sent all the companies that he could levy out of Mesopotamia, who under the command of Shobach passed Euphrates, and encamped at [b] Helam, on the south side thereof. David, hearing of this new preparation, assembled all the ablest men of Israel, and marched towards the Syrian army in Palmyrena, not yet entered into Arabia; to wit, at Helam, a place no less distant from Damascus, towards the north-east, than Jerusalem was towards the south-west. Now David (speaking humanly) might with the more confidence go on towards Euphrates, (which was the furthest-off journey that ever he made,) because he was now lord of Damascus, which lay in the midway. He also possessed himself of [c] Thadmor, or Palmyrena, which Salomon afterwards strongly fortified; and this city was but one day's journey from Helam and the river Euphrates. So had he two safe retreats, the one to Thadmor, and the next from thence to Damascus. In this encounter between David and the Syrians, they lost 40,000 horsemen and 700 chariots, together with Shobach general of their army. The Chronicles call these 40,000 soldiers footmen, and so Junius converts it, and so is it very probable. For the army of Israel, consisting of footmen, could hardly have slaughtered 40,000 horsemen, except they quitted their horses and fought on foot. So are the chariots taken in this battle numbered at 7000 in the first of Chronicles chap. ix. in which number, as I conceive, all the soldiers that served in them, with the conductors, are included: so as there died of the Syrians in this war against David, before he forced them to tribute, 100,000 footmen, besides all their horsemen and waggoners, and besides all those that Joab slew, when they fled at the first encounter, together with the Ammonites before Rabba. Notwithstand-

[b] Helam, or Chelam, which Ptolomy calleth Alamatha, near the fords of Euphrates. 2 Sam. x.

[c] See chap. 18. sect. 2.

ing all which, the Adads in following ages gathered strength again, and afflicted the kings of Juda often; but the kings of Israel they impoverished, even to the last end of that state.

David having now beaten the Arabians and Mesopotamians from the party and confederacy of Ammon; he sent out Joab, the lieutenant of his armies, to forage and destroy their territory, and to besiege Rabbah, afterward Philadelphia, which after a while the Israelites mastered and possessed. The king's crown, which weighed a talent of gold, garnished with precious stones, David set on his own head, and carried away with him the rest of the riches and spoil of the city. And though David stayed at Jerusalem, following the war of Uriah's wife, till such time as the city was brought to extremity, and ready to be entered; yet Joab, in honour of David, forbare the last assault and entrance thereof, till his master's arrival. To the people he used extreme rigour, (if we may so call it, being exercised against heathen idolaters;) for some of them he tare with harrows, some he sawed asunder, others he cast into burning kilns, in which he baked tile and brick.

SECT. VII.

Of David's troubles in his reign, and of his forces.

BUT as victory begetteth security, and our present worldly felicity a forgetfulness of our former miseries, and many times of God himself, the giver of all goodness; so did these changes, in the fortune and state of this good king, change also the zealous care which formerly he had to please God in the precise observation of his laws and commandments. For having now no dangerous apparent enemy, (against whom he was wont to ask counsel from the Lord,) he began to be advised by his own human affections and vain desires. For he was not only satisfied to take Uriah's wife from him, and to use her by stealth, but he embroidered his adultery with Uriah's slaughter, giving order to his trusty servant [d] Joab to marshal him in the front or point of those Israel-

[d] 2 Sam. xi. 15.

ites, which gave an assault upon the suburbs of Rabba, when there was not as yet any possibility of prevailing. And that which could no less displease God than the rest, he was content that many others of his best servants and soldiers should perish together with Uriah, hoping thereby to cover his particular ill intent against him. After which he began by degrees to fall from the highest of happiness, and his days then to come were filled with joys and woes interchangeable; his trodden down sorrows began again to spring, and those perils which he had pulled up by the roots, (as he hoped,) gave him an after-harvest of many cares and discontentments. And if it had pleased God to take the witness of David's own mouth against him, as David himself did against the Amalekite which pretended to have slain Saul, he had then appeared as worthy of reprehension as the other was of the death he suffered. For when Nathan the prophet propounded unto him his own error in the person of another, to wit, of him that took the poor man's sheep that had none else, the bereaver being lord of many; he then vowed it to the living Lord, that such a one should die the death. And hereof, although it pleased God to pardon David for his life, which remission the prophet Nathan pronounced, yet he delivered him God's justice, together with his mercy in the tenor following; [e] *Now therefore the sword shall never depart from thy house*, &c. *because thou hast taken his wife to be thy wife, and hast slain Uriah with the sword of the children of Ammon.* Soon after this, David lost the child of adultery which he begot on Bersabe. Secondly, His own son Amnon being in love with his half-sister Thamar, by the advice of his cousin-german, the son of Shimeah, David's brother, possessed her by force; which when he had performed, he thrust her from him in a careless and despiteful manner. Two years after which foul and incestuous act, Absalom caused him to be murdered at the feast of his sheep-shearing; not perchance in revenge of Thamar's ravishment alone, but having it in his heart to usurp the kingdom; in which, because he

[e] 2 Sam. xii. 9, 10.

could not in any sort be assured of Amnon, he thought his affair greatly advanced by his destruction. So the one brother having ravished his own sister, and then despised her; the other, after a long dissembled malice, first made his own brother drunken, and then slaughtered him; which done, he fled away, and lived under the safeguard of [f] Talmai, king of Geshur, near Damascus, who was his grandfather by the mother, but a heathen king. Thirdly, When Absalom, by the invention of Joab, (but chiefly because of the great affection of David towards his son,) was brought again, first to the king's favour, and then to his presence; he began instantly to practise against [g] David his father, seeking by the pretence of common justice, and by lowly and familiar manner to all men, and by detracting from his father's equity, to win unto himself a popular reputation. Here began the great affliction threatened by the Lord as a punishment of David's sin.

The company which [h] Absalom gathered at the first were but 200 men, which he carried with him from Jerusalem to Hebron; pretending, though impiously, the performance of a vow to God. There when Achitophel repaired unto him, and many troops of people from all places, he proclaimed himself king, and was by the people (whose hearts God had turned from their lawful prince) accepted so readily, that David doubting to be set upon on the sudden, durst not trust himself in his own city of Jerusalem, nor in any other walled town for fear of surprise, but encamped in the fields and deserts, with some 600 of his guards, and few else. The priests he left in Jerusalem with the ark of God, from whom he desired to be advertised of those things that chanced, to whom he directed [i] Hushai, his trusty friend and servant, praying him to make himself in all his outward actions and counsels of Absalom's party and confederacy, thereby the better to discover unto him the purposes of Achitophel, a revolted counsellor, whose practices he greatly doubted. And now when treason was in fashion, Ziba also sought to betray his master Mephibosheth, the son of Jona-

[f] 2 Sam. xiii. [g] 2 Sam. xiv. [h] 2 Sam. xv. [i] Ibid.

than; and Shimei, of the house of Saul, (to embrace hatred David's prosperity had smothered, b sity illightened,) holding himself upon the advahen ki mountain side, [k] cast stones at David, and most despred, cursed him to his face; but David attending no privat out-venges, forbade Abishai to pursue him for the present, yet left him among others, in the roll of his revenge, to his son Salomon. Absalom being now possessed of Jerusalem, was advised by Achitophel to use his [l] father's concubines in some such public place, as all Israel might assure themselves that he was irreconcileable to his father; whereof being persuaded they would then resolvedly adhere to Absalom and his cause, without fear of being given up upon a reconciliation between them. This savage and impious (though crafty) counsel Achitophel indeed urged for his own respect, as fearing that this rebellion might take end to his destruction; who most of all other inflamed Absalom against his father. And now was it fulfilled that Nathan had directly foretold David; *I will raise up evil against thee out of thine own house, and will take thy wives before thine eyes, and give them unto thy neighbour, and he shall lie with thy wives in the sight of the sun. For thou didst it secretly: but I will do this thing before all Israel, and before the sun*, 2 Sam. xii. 11, 12. He also gave advice to Absalom, that himself, with an army of 12,000 men, might be employed at the instant for the surprising of David, which had willingly been embraced by Absalom, had not [m] Hushai, David's faithful servant, given counter advice, and swayed it; persuading Absalom, that it was fitter and more safe for him, with all the strength of Israel, to pursue his father; than by such a troop, which David's valour, and those of his attendants, might either endanger or resist. This delay in Absalom, and advantage of time gained by David, was indeed, after God, the loss of the one and delivery of the other. Whereupon [n] Achitophel rightly fearing (by the occasion foreshewed) the success which followed, disposed of his own

[k] 2 Sam. xvi. [l] Ibid. [m] 2 Sam. xvii. 14. [n] 2 Sam. xvii. 23.

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affair greatly a his own life.
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brot of Mahanaim in the tribe of Gad; the same wherein
Ishbosheth himself, in the war against David after Saul's death, seated himself. To which place there repaired unto him Shobi, the son of Nahash the Ammonite, whom David loved, the same which Josephus calleth Shiphar. And though it be greatly disputed what this Shobi was, yet the most general and probable opinion makes him a second brother to Hanum, whom David for his father's sake established in the kingdom after Hanum's overthrow. In thankfulness whereof he relieved David in this his extremity. There came also to David's assistance Machir of Lodabar, guardian in former times to Mephibosheth, and among others Barzillai the Gileadite, who willingly fed David and all his company.

In the mean time both the king and Absalom prepared to fight; Absalom made Amasa commander of the army of Israel, the same place which Joab held with David; an office next the king himself, like unto that of the mayors of the palace anciently in France. David, persuaded by his company, stayed in Mahanaim, and disposed the forces he had to Joab, Abishai, and Ittai, giving them charge in the hearing of all that issued out at the port of Mahanaim, that they should spare the life of Absalom. But Joab, besides that he was very cruel by nature, remembered that Absalom had lately disposed of his government to Amasa, and therefore the victory being obtained, and news brought him that Absalom hung by the hair of his head on a tree, when he could not persuade the messenger to return and kill him, [o] he himself with his own servants despatched him. It appeared also by the sequel, that Joab affected Adonijah, whom he afterward acknowledged, David yet living;

[o] 2 Sam. xviii.

and fearing the disposition of Absalom, he embrace present advantage offered.

Hereof, together with news of the victory, when kn ledge was brought to David, he mourned and sorrowed, only as a man that had lost a son, but as one that had outlived all his worldly joys, and seen every delight of life interred. For he so hid himself from his people, as those, which hoped for honour and reward after so great a victory, covered themselves also in the city, as if they had committed the greatest offences, and had rather deserved death than recompense. Whereupon Joab presenting himself before David, persuaded him to dissemble his sorrow for the present, and to shew himself to the army. For first he told him that he had discountenanced his faithful servants, who had that day preserved his life; inferring that nothing could be more dangerous to a king, than not only not to acknowledge so great a love and constancy in his people, who, being but few in number, did yet resolvedly expose themselves to great perils for his sake; but on the contrary, grieve and lament at their good success: for no doubt they might all have bought their peace of Absalom at an easy rate. Secondly, he urged, that it was generally believed that he loved his enemies and hated his friends, and that he witnessed by this his mourning, that he had not any respect of his princes, and others his faithful servants, but would more have joyed if they had all perished, and Absalom lived, than in the victory by their faithfulness and approved valour gotten.

Lastly, he used this prevalent argument, that if the king came not out, and shewed himself publicly to his men of war, that they would all that very night abandon him, and return; concluding with this fearful threatening, [p] *And that will be worse unto thee than all the evil that fell on thee from thy youth hitherto.* By these overbold and arrogant speeches (though perchance uttered with a good intent) Joab raised David from his bed of sorrow, and brought him to the gates of the city among the people, whom he assured

[p] 2 Sam. xix. 7.

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[p] 2 Sam. xix. 7.

of his love and affection, especially Amasa, who commanded the army of Absalom, to whom he promised the office of lieutenantship; the same which Absalom had given him, and which Joab now enjoyed. For David doubted, that if Amasa were not satisfied, he might draw from him a great part of the strength of Israel, now under his commandment.

This done, the king marched towards Jordan homeward, where in his passage he pardoned [q]Shimei, who had lately reviled him to his face; but this remission was but external, as appeared afterward. He also accepted of Mephibosheth's excuse, whom Ziba had formerly falsely accused and betrayed.

He also entreated [r]Barzillai the Gileadite, his late liberal host, to follow him to Jerusalem, that he might reward his service done him; who excusing himself by his age, appointed his son Chimham to attend the king.

At Gilgal, on this side Jordan, all the tribes assembled, and after some contention which of them ought to have most interest in David, the army brake, and David returned to Jerusalem. But Sheba, the son of Bichri, a Benjamite, of the faction of the house of Saul, finding some discontentment among the Israelites, withdrew them from David, as from a stranger in whom they had no interest; and it seemeth that many of the people of the out-tribes, and in effect of all but Juda, bare still a good affection to the issues of their first king. David employed his reconciled captain Amasa to give him contentment, and to witness his trust, as also because he conceived that Amasa had interest in those revolts of Israel more than Joab had. He received commandment from David to assemble the army within three days, which he foreslowed; but being onward on his way, Abishai, Joab's brother, was sent after him, with David's guard and best soldiers, whom also Joab accompanied; and overtaking Amasa near Gibeon, pretending to embrace him, [s]gave him a wound, whereof he fell dead, being no less jealous of Amasa than he was of Abner, whom he mur-

[q] 2 Sam. xix. 23. [r] 2 Sam. xix. 38. [s] 2 Sam. xx. 10.

dered in the same manner, and out of the same impatient ambition. This done, he pursued [t]Sheba, and finding him enclosed in Abel, assaulted the city with that fury, that the citizens, by the persuasions of a wise woman there inhabiting, cut off Sheba's head, and flung it to Joab over the walls; which done, he retreated his army to Jerusalem, and commanded as before all the host of Israel.

The next act of David's was the delivery of Saul's sons or kinsmen to the Gibeonites, whom those citizens hung up in revenge of their father's cruelty. David had knowledge from the oracle of God, that a famine, which had continued on the land three years, came by reason of Saul and his house; to wit, for the slaughter of the Gibeonites: and therefore he willingly yielded to give them this satisfaction, both because he had warrant from God himself, as also, if we may judge humanly, to rid himself of Saul's line, by whom he and his might, as well in the present as in the future, be greatly molested and endangered; only he spared Mephibosheth, the son of Jonathan, both for the love he bare to his father, as for his oath and vow to God.

Now where it is written in the text, *The king took the two sons of Rispah, whom she bare unto Saul, and the five sons of Michol the daughter of Saul, whom she bare to Adriel, and delivered them to the Gibeonites*, 2 Sam. xxi. Junius calls this Michol the sister of her that was David's wife, she whom Saul married to Phaltiel; but Michol here named had Adriel to her husband, the same which is named Merab in 1 Sam. xviii. who was first promised to David, when he slew Goliath in the valley of Raphaim: and because it is written that *Michol loved David*, which perchance Merab did not, whether David had any human respect in the delivery of her children, it is only known to God.

Now whereas the Geneva nameth Michol for Merab the wife of Adriel; the better translation were out of the Hebrew word here used, having an eclipsis or defect, and signifieth, as I am informed, one of the same kindred, as in

[t] 2 Sam. xx. 22.

the 19th verse of the same twenty-first chapter it is said of Goliath, whose spear was weighty as a weaver's beam, when as by the same eclipsis it must be understood by the brother of Goliath; Goliath himself being formerly slain.

As by the death of Saul's children God secured the house of David, leaving no head unto rebellion; so did he strengthen both the king and nation against foreign enemies, by the valour of many brave commanders, the like of whom, for number and quality, that people of Israel is not known to have had at any time before or after. Thirty captains of thousands there were, all men of mark and great reputation in war. Over these were six colonels, whose valour was so extraordinary, that it might well be held as miraculous. These colonels had some difference of place and honour, which seemeth to have been given upon mere consideration of their virtue. For Abishai, the brother of Joab, who in the war against the Ammonites and Aramites was lieutenant, and commanded half the army, could not attain to the honour of the first rank, but was fain to rest contented with being principal of the three colonels of the second order, notwithstanding his nearness in blood unto the king, the flourishing estate of his own house, and his well approved services. All these colonels and captains, with the companies belonging to them, may seem to have been such as were continually retained, or at the least kept in readiness for any occasion, considering that the numbers which were mustered and drawn out, if need required, into the field, very far exceeded thirty thousand, yea or thirty times as many. They were most of them such as had followed the king in Saul's time, and been hardened with his adversities. Others there were very many, and principal men in their several tribes, that repaired unto him after the death of Saul; but these captains and colonels (who with Joab, that was general of all the king's forces, make up the number of thirty-seven) were the especial men of war, and reckoned as David's worthies[u]. The long reign of David, as it is known to have consumed many of

[u] 2 Sam. xxiii. 39.

these excellent men of war, so may it probably be guessed to have wasted the most of those whose deaths we find no where mentioned. For the sons of Zeruia, who had been too hard for David, were worn away, and only Joab left in the beginning of Salomon, who wanted his brother Abishai to stand by his side in his last extremity.

By the actions forepassed in the time of David, it is gathered that he had reigned now thirty-three years, or thereabout, when the posterity of Saul was rooted out, so that he enjoyed about seven years of entire quiet and security, wherein it pleased God to remove all impediments that might have troubled the succession of Salomon in his father's throne. In this time also David having established all things in Juda and Israel, and the borders thereof, he again displeased God by [x] numbering the people, as in ostentation of his power: in which he employed Joab with other captains of his army, who after nine months and twenty days travel, returned with the account and register of all the people able and fit to bear arms, and they amounted to the number of 1,300,000, besides Levi and Benjamin; whereof in Juda and the cities thereof 500,000, and in Israel 800,000.

For this, when by the prophet Gad he was offered from God the choice of three punishments, whereof he might submit himself to which he pleased; to wit, seven years famine; three months war, wherein he should be unprosperous in all attempts, and be chased by his enemies; or a general pestilence to last three days; David made choice to bow himself under the hand of God only, and left himself subject to that cruel disease, which hath no compassion or respect of persons, of which there perished 70,000. And hereby he hath taught all that live, that it is better to fall into the hands of God than of men; whereof he giveth us this divine reason, [y] *For his mercies are great.*

[x] 2 Sam. xxiv. 1 Chron. xxi. [y] 2 Sam. xiv.

SECT. VIII.

Of the last acts of David; Adonijah's faction; the revenge upon Joab and Shimei.

LASTLY, when he grew weak and feeble, and past the acts and knowledge of women, he was yet advised to lie in the arms of a young and well-complexioned maiden, to keep him warm. In this his weak estate of body, when he was in a manner bedrid, Adonijah his eldest son, (Amnon and Absalom being now dead,) having drawn unto his party that invincible, renowned, and feared Joab, with Abiathar the priest, began manifestly to prepare for his establishment in the kingdom after his father. For being the eldest now living of David's sons, and a man of a goodly personage, Salomon yet young, and born of a mother formerly attainted with adultery, for which her name was omitted by St. Matthew, (as Beda, Hugo, Thomas, and others suppose,) he presumed to carry the matter without resistance. Hereof when David had knowledge by Bersabe the mother of Salomon, who did put him in mind of his faithful promise, that Salomon her son should reign after him, (Nathan the prophet affirming the same thing unto the king, and seconding her report of Adonijah's presumption,) the king calling unto him Zadoc the priest, Nathan the prophet, and Benaiah the captain of his guard, gave charge and commission to anoint Salomon, and to set him on the mule whereon himself used to ride in his greatest state; which done, Salomon, attended and strongly guarded by the ordinary and choice men of war, the Cherethites and Pelethites, shewed himself to the people. Those tidings being reported to Adonijah, he presently abandoned his assistants, and for the safety of his life he held by the horns of the altar, whom for the present Salomon pardoned. After this, [z] David had remaining two especial cares, whereof he was desirous to discharge his thoughts; the one, concerning the peace of the land, which might be disturbed by some rebellion against Salomon; the other, concerning the building of the temple, which he sought by all means to advance, and make the bu-

[z] 1 Kings i.

siness public. [a] To bring these intentions to good effect he summoned a parliament, consisting of all the princes of Israel, the princes of the several tribes, all the captains and officers, with all the mighty, and men of power, who repaired unto Jerusalem.

In this assembly the king stood up, and signified his purpose of building the temple, shewing how the Lord had approved the motion. Herein he took occasion to lay open his own title to the crown, shewing that the kingdom was by God's ordinance due to the tribe of Juda, (as Jacob in his blessing prophetically bequeathed it,) and that God himself was pleased to make choice of him among all his father's sons. In like manner he said that God himself had appointed Salomon by name to be his successor; whereupon he earnestly charged both the people and his son to conform themselves unto all that God had commanded, and particularly to go forward in this work of the Lord's house which Salomon was chosen to build [b]. Then produced he the pattern of the work, according to the form which God himself had appointed; and so laying open his own preparations, he exhorted all others to a voluntary contribution.

The king's proposition was so well approved by the princes and people, that whereas he himself had given 3000 talents of gold and 7000 of silver, they added unto it 7000 of gold and 10,000 of silver, besides brass, iron, and jewels, heartily rejoicing in the advancement of so religious a work. This business being well despatched, a solemn feast with great sacrifice was made, at which time Salomon was again anointed king, and received fealty of all the princes and people of the land, and of all the princes his brethren, the sons of king David. Salomon being thus established king, his father David finding himself even in the hands of death, first exhorted his son to exercise the same courage and strength of mind which himself had done in all his attempts, and to the end that a happy end might follow the beginning of all his enterprises, he uttered these mighty words; [c] *Take heed to the charge of the Lord thy God, to walk in his ways, and*

[a] 1 Chron. xxviii. 1. [b] 1 Chron. xxix. 19. [c] 1 Kings ii. 3.

keep his statutes, and his commandments, and his judgments, and his testimonies, as it is written in the law of Moses, &c. to the performance of which God fastened the succession and prosperity of his issues. For this done, (saith God himself,) [d] *thou shalt not want one of thy posterity to sit upon the throne of Israel.*

Secondly, he advised him concerning Joab, who out of doubt had served David from the first assault of Jerusalem to the last of his wars, with incomparable valour and fidelity, saving that he fastened himself to Adonijah, (his master yet living,) and thereby vexed him in his feeble age. But as God hath never left cruelty unrevenged, so was it his will that Joab should drink of the same cup whereof he had enforced other men to taste, and suffer the same violence which himself had unjustly strucken others withal, *qui gladio percutit, gladio peribit;* for he had bereaved Abner and Amasa of their lives, having against the one the pretence only of his brother's slaughter, whom Abner had slain in the time of war, and could not avoid him; against the other, but a mere jealousy of his growing great in the favour of David. And though Joab assured himself that Abner and Amasa being dead, there was none left either to equal him or supplant him, yet God (deriding the policies of wicked men) raised up Benaiah, the son of Jehoiadah, to pull him from the sanctuary, and to cut him in pieces. For David giveth this cause to Salomon against Joab, that he slew the captains of the host of Israel, [e] *and shed blood of battle in peace;* and to this apparent and just cause, it is not improbable but that David remembered the ill affection of Joab towards Salomon, which Joab made manifest by the untimely setting up of Adonijah, David yet living. Some other offence Joab had committed against David, of which in these words he put his son Salomon in mind; [f] *Thou knowest also what Joab the son of Seruiah did to me*, &c. Now whether this were meant by the killing of Absalom, contrary to the king's desire, or by the proud words used to him when he mourned in Mahanaim for Absalom; or

[d] 1 Kings ii. 4. [e] 1 Kings ii. 5. [f] Ibid.

whether it were the publishing of David's letter unto him for the killing of Uriah, thereby to disgrace Salomon as descended of such a mother, the scriptures are silent. True it is, that those great men of war do oftentimes behave themselves exceeding insolently towards their princes, both in respect of their service done, as also because they flatter themselves with an opinion, that either their masters cannot miss them, or that they dare not offend them. But this kind of pride hath overthrown many a worthy man, otherwise deserving great honour and respect.

He also gave order to Salomon to rid himself of Shimei, who not long before had cast stones at David, and cursed him to his face. And albeit by reason of his oath and promise David spared Shimei all the time himself lived, yet being dust, and in the grave, he slew him by the hand of Salomon his son [g]. Hence it seemeth that king Henry the Seventh of England had his pattern, when he gave order to Henry the Eighth to execute Pool as soon as himself was buried, having made promise to the king of Spain, when he delivered Pool unto him, that while he lived he would never put him to death, nor suffer violent hands to be laid upon him.

And yet did not the execution of Joab yield unto Salomon any such great profit or assurance as he hoped for. For he found a young Adad of Idumæa, and Rezin of Damascus, to vex him; who, as the scriptures witness [h], were emboldened to enterprise upon Salomon, hearing that David slept with his fathers, and that Joab the captain of the host was dead. Now when David had reigned in all forty years, to wit, in Hebron seven years, and in Jerusalem thirty-three, he died.

For his person, he was of small stature, but exceeding strong. For his internal gifts and graces he so far exceeded all other men, as, putting his human frailty apart, he was said by God himself to be *a man according to his own heart.* The Psalms which he wrote witness his piety and his excellent learning; of whom Jerome to Paulinus: *David Si-*

[g] 1 Kings ii. [h] 1 Kings xi.

monides noster, Pindarus et Alcæus, Flaccus, quoque Catullus, et Serenus, Christum lyra personat, et in decachordo psalterio ab inferis suscitat resurgentem; "David," saith he, "our Simonides, Pindarus, Alcæus, Horace, Catullus, "and Serenus, he playeth Christ on his harp, and on a "ten-stringed psalter he raiseth him up rising from the "dead." And being both a king and a prophet, he foretelleth Christ more lightsomely and lively than all the rest.

The Book of the Psalms, saith Glycas, was divided, ordered, and distinguished by Ezekias; but whether all the Psalms were written by David it is diversely disputed. For [i] Athanasius, Cyprian, Lyranus, and others, conceive divers authors, answering the titles of the several Psalms, as Moses, Salomon, and the rest hereafter named, and that only seventy-three Psalms were composed by David himself, namely, those which are entitled *ipsius David.* For the fiftieth and the seventy-second, with the ten that follow, are bestowed on Asaph the son of Barachia, eleven other on the sons of Korah, and eleven are ascribed to Moses, to wit, the eighty-ninth and the ten following, and so they are entitled in the old Hebrew copies, though the Vulgar and Septuagint (three excepted) style them otherwise. The supposed nine authors of these Psalms which David wrate not, [k] Sixtus Senensis nameth as followeth: Salomon, Moses, (whom Aben-Ezra, contrary to Jerome, maketh one of David's singers,) Asaph, Ethan-Eziachi, Eman-Eziaira, Idithum, and the three sons of Chore. But St. Chrysostom makes David the sole author of all the Psalms, and so doth [l] St. Augustine, reasoning in this manner. Although, saith he, some there are that ascribe those Psalms only unto David which are overwritten *ipsius David,* and the rest, entitled *ipsi David,* to others; this opinion, saith he, *voce evangelica Salvatoris ipsius refutatur, ubi ait quod ipse David in Spiritu Christum dixerit esse suum Dominum, quoniam Psalmus* 109 *sic incipit: Dixit Dominus Domino meo, Sede a dex-*

[i] Athan. in Synop. Hier. Epist. 134. Lyr. in exp. 1. Ps.
[k] Vide Sixt. Senen. Bib. Sanct. l. 1. fol. 10. et 11.
[l] Aug. de Civitate Dei, l. 13. c. 14.

tris meis, &c.; "The voice of the gospel refutes this opin-" ion, where it saith, that *David himself in the Spirit calleth* "*Christ his Lord*, because the 109th Psalm begins thus; "*The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand*," &c. Lastly, His testimonies are used both by Christ and the apostles, and he was as a pattern to all the kings and princes that succeeded him.

His story, and all his particular actions, were written by the prophets, Samuel, Nathan, and Gad, as it is in 1 Chron. xxix. 19. For the several parts of the books of Samuel, which entreat chiefly of David, were, as it seems, written by these three holy men.

[m] Constantine Manasses hath an opinion, that the Trojans, during the time of the siege, sought for succour from David, and that he stayed neuter in that war. But it seemeth that Manasses did miscast the time betwixt David and the Trojan war. For it is generally received, that Troy fell between the times of Abdon and Samson, judges of Israel, about the world's year 2848, and David died in the year 2991.

SECT. IX.

Of the treasures of David and Salomon.

HIS treasures were exceeding great. For it is written in the first of Chronicles, chap. xxii. 14. that he left Salomon for the building of the temple a hundred thousand talents of gold, and a thousand thousand talents of silver, and of brass and iron passing all weight, which is more than any king of the world possessed besides himself, and his son to whom he left it. For it amounteth to three thousand three hundred thirty and three cartload, and a third of a cartload of silver, allowing two thousand weight of silver, or six thousand pound sterling to every cartload, besides threescore and seventeen millions of French crowns, or of our money twenty-three millions and one thousand pound; a matter, but for the testimony of the scriptures, exceeding all

[m] Cap. 17. §. 6, 7. in his Annals translated out of Greek into Latin, by Joannes Leunclavius.

belief. For that any riches were left him, it doth not appear; seeing that the judges had not any treasure, nor any sovereign power to make levies; but when they went to the wars, they were followed by such voluntaries as the several tribes by turns gave them: seeing also that Saul, who was of a mean parentage, and perpetually vexed and invaded by the Philistines, could not in all likelihood gather great riches, (if any at all,) his territories being exceeding narrow, and thereof the better part possessed by his enemies.

Therefore it were not amiss to consider how David, within the space of not very many years, might amass up such mighty treasures. For though parsimony be itself a great revenue, yet needs there must have been other great means. It seems that he made the uttermost profit of all that he had, that was profitable Eusebius, in his ninth book and last chapter *de Præparatione Evangelica*, citeth the words of Eupolemus, who reporteth that David, among other preparations for the temple, built a navy in Melanis, or, as Villalpandus corrects it, Achanis, a city of Arabia, and from thence sent men to dig for gold in the island Urphe, which Ortelius thinks was Ophir, though Eupolemus, in his place of Eusebius, (erring perhaps in this circumstance,) saith, that this island is in the Red sea; from whence, saith this Eupolemus, they brought gold into Jewry. Pineda, l. 4. *de rebus Salomonis*, c. 1. thinks that David did this way also enrich himself, and citeth this testimony of Eupolemus: and yet certainly David had many other ways to gather great riches. Much land doubtless he gained by conquest from the Canaanites and Philistines, besides those fruitful valleys near Jordan in Trachonitis and Basan, and the best of Syria, and other countries bordering the Israelites. These demesnes belike he kept in his own hands, and with his infinite number of captives, which he took in his wars, which were not able to redeem themselves, husbanded those grounds for his greatest advantage. For it is written, 1 Chron. xvii. that Jehonathan was over his treasures in the field, in the villages, in the cities, in the towns; that Ezri was over the labourers that tilled his ground; Simei over

the vineyards, and Sabdi over the store of the wine; Baal Hanan over the olive trees, and Joash over the store of the oil; also that he had herdmen that had charge over his cattle, both in the high lands and in the plains, over his sheep, camels, and asses. And this custom of enriching themselves by husbandry and cattle the ancient kings every where held, both before and after David's time. For we read of [n] Pharaoh, that he spoke to Joseph to appoint some of his brethren, or of their servants, to be rulers over his cattle. We read of [o] Uzzia, that he loved husbandry, had much cattle, and ploughmen, and dressers of vines: likewise we read it in all Greek poets, that the wealth of the ancient kings did especially consist in their herds and flocks, whereof it were needless to cite Augeas and Admetus, or any other, for examples, the rule holding true in all. Now concerning David, it is not unlikely, but that those captives which were not employed in husbandry, were many of them used by him in all sorts of gainful professions, as the ancient Romans in like manner used their slaves.

To these profits (besides the tributes and impositions which doubtless were great, and besides the innumerable presents which yearly were brought him, or extraordinarily sent him, by Tehu and others) we may add the great spoils which he found in the cities and countries which he conquered; also the head-money which was gathered *per legem capitationis*, "by the law of capitation," or head-money, every man, rich or poor, paying half a sicle of the sanctuary, which is about as much as fourteen pence, and so in all it amounted to a wondrous sum in that kingdom; wherein 1,570,000 fighting men were numbered by [p] Joab. Now although this law of capitation be thought by some very learned not to have been perpetual, (which opinion of theirs nevertheless they confess is against the Hebrew expositions,) yet David upon this occasion is not unlikely to have put it in practice. And by these means might he be able to leave those huge treasures to Salomon. Yet it may seem, that

[n] Gen. xlvii. [o] 2 Chron. xxvi. [p] 1 Chron. xxi.

of this great mass of gold and silver left by David, the least part was his own in private, and so will it appear the less wonderful that he left so much. Of his own liberality we find that he gave to the building of the temple 3000 talents of gold, and 7000 talents of silver, a great sum, but holding a very small proportion to the other. Wherefore we are to consider, that the treasures of the sanctuary itself were exceeding great, as needs they must have been, having received continual increase, without any loss or diminution, ever since the time of Moses and Joshua. The revenues of the sanctuary (besides all manner of tithes and oblations, which defrayed the daily expenses, and maintained the priest and Levites) were partly raised out of the head-money before mentioned; partly out of the spoils gotten in war. For all the booty was divided into two [q] parts, whereof the soldiers had one, and the people which remained at home had the other half; whereby all the country received benefit of the victory, yet so that the soldiers had a far greater proportion than the rest, as being fewer, and therefore receiving more for every single share.

Out of this purchase was deducted the Lord's tribute, which was one in fifty of that which the people received, and one in five hundred of that which was given to the soldiers; namely, one hundred and one thousandth part of the whole booty. So in the spoil of Midian, 32,000 women being taken, the army had 16,000 of them for [r] slaves, and the congregation had other 16,000; but out of the 16,000 given to the army were exempted thirty-two for the Lord's tribute. Out of the people's number were taken 320. By this means, the lesser that the army was which had exposed itself to danger, the greater profit had every soldier; but when it consisted of many hands, they who remaining at home were fain to undergo more than ordinary travel in domestical affairs, did receive by so much the greater portion. But the Lord's tribute was always certain, yea, many times it was increased, either by some especial commandment, as when all the gold, and silver, and other metals found in

[q] Numb. xxxi. 27. [r] Numb. xxxi. 40.

Jericho were [s]consecrated unto God; or by thankfulness of the rulers and people, as when, after the victory obtained against the Midianites without the loss of one man, all jewels, bracelets, earrings, and the like, were [t]offered up as voluntary presents.

Now howsoever the Israelites were many times oppressed, and trodden down by other nations, yet were not these treasures robbed or spoiled; for the enemies never gat possession of the tabernacle that was in Shilo. Wherefore it cannot otherwise be, than that the wealth of the sanctuary must have been exceeding great; as containing above one hundredth part of all the money and other goods found by the Israelites in the whole land of [u]Canaan, and of all that was purchased by so many victories as they obtained against the bordering nations. For that this treasury was not defrauded of the due portion, it is evident; seeing that, before the time of David and his lieutenant Joab, it is recorded, that Saul and Abner, and before them Samuel, had used to dedicate of the spoils obtained in war to maintain the house of the Lord: the like whereof may be well presumed of the former judges and captains in other ages. Certain it is, that the conquest of David brought into the land far greater abundance of riches than any former victories had purchased, those of Joshua perhaps excepted; but these vast sums, of an hundred thousand talents of silver, may seem rather to have been made up by the addition of his winnings and liberality to the treasures laid up in many former ages, than to have been the mere fruits of his own industry.

Now concerning the riches of Salomon, it is more manifest how he gathered them; for he received of yearly revenues, with his tributes, 666 [x]talents of gold, besides the customs of spices. He had also six rich returns from the East Indies, which greatly increased his store. For his ships performed that voyage every three years, and he began that trade in the twenty-second year of his reign, and

[s] Josh. vi. 19.
[t] Numb. xxxi. 50.
[u] 1 Chron. xxvi. 27, 28.

[x] A talent of gold [illegible] crowns, 1 Kings x. 14.

ruled forty years. Besides this, all Judæa and Israel were now mastered to his hands; all the Arabians his borderers, the Syrians of Zobah, of Damascena, of Palmyra, of Ituræa; all of [y]Idumæa, Moab, and Ammon, paid him tribute; as likewise did the Hittites, who with the Perizzites, Hevites, Jebusites, and other races of the Canaanites, were not as yet extinguished, though subjected.

Into this flourishing estate was the kingdom of Israel reduced by David, who, after forty years' reign, and seventy years of life, [z]died in a good age, full of days, riches, and honour, and was buried in the city of David. It is written by [a]Josephus, that there was hid in David's tomb a marvellous quantity of treasures, insomuch as Hyrcanus, (who first of the Chasmanæi, or race of the Maccabees, called himself king,) 1300 years after, drew thence 3000 talents, to rid himself of Antiochus, then besieging Jerusalem; and afterwards Herod opening another cell, had also an exceeding mass of gold and silver therein. And it was an ancient custom to bury treasure with the dead. So the Peruvians and other Americans did the like, which being discovered by the Spaniards, they enriched themselves by nothing so much in their first conquest. That Salomon did bury so much treasure in his father's grave, it would hardly be believed, in regard of the great exactions with which he was fain to burden the people, notwithstanding all the riches which he got otherwise, or which were left unto him; were it not withal considered, that his want of money grew from such magnificent employments. Particularly of the sepulchre of David the scriptures have no mention, but only the sepulchres of the kings of Juda, as of an honourable place of burial. Yet the monuments of those kings, as (by relation of the duke of [b]Ulika) they remained within these thirty years, and are like to remain still, are able to make any report credible of the cost bestowed upon them.

[y] 1 Kings ix. 20. and x. 29.
[z] 1 Chron. xxix. 28.
[a] Jos. Ant. l. 7.
[b] Peregrinat. Hierosol. D. N. Ch. Radz. Epist. 2.

SECT. X.

Of the Philistines, whom David absolutely mastered; and of sundry other contemporaries with David.

OF the Philistines, whose pride David was the first that absolutely mastered, in this conclusion of David's time somewhat here may be spoken.

They descended of Casloim, who, according to Isidore, l. 9. 19. and Jos. l. 1. Ant. 17. was one of the sons of Misraim, and was surnamed Philistim, as Esau was surnamed Edom, and Jacob Israel. There were of them five cities of petty principalities; namely, [c] Azotus or Asdod, Gaza or Aczaph, Ascalon, Geth or Gath, and Accaron. It seemeth that Casloim was the first founder of this nation, because of his kindred on either hand, the Canaanites and the Egyptians.

The first king of these Philistines, which the scriptures have named, was that [d] Abimelech which loved Sara, Abraham's wife.

The second Abimelech lived at once with Isaac, to whom Isaac repaired in the time of famine, Abimelech then residing at Gerar in the border of Idumæa, which Abimelech fancied [e] Isaac's wife; as his father had done Sara.

After Abimelech the second, the Philistine kings are not remembered in the scriptures till David's time; perhaps the government was turned into aristocratical: for they are afterwards named princes of the Philistines, howsoever [f] Achis be named king of Gath, the same to whom David fled, and who again gave him Siklag to inhabit in Saul's time.

After him we read of another Achis, who lived with Salomon, to whom Shimei travelled to fetch back his fugitive servant, what time the seeking of his servant was the loss of his life. Jeremiah the prophet speaketh of the kings of Palestine, or Philistine. Amos nameth the king of Ascalon;

[c] 1 Sam. vi.
[d] Gen. xx.
[e] Gen. xxvi.
[f] Judg. xvi. 1 Sam. xviii. 29. 1 Sam. xxi. 11. 1 Kings ii.

Zacharias, a king of Gaza. The rest of the wars of the Philistines are remembered in the catalogue of the judges, of Saul and David, and therefore I shall not need to collect the particulars in this place.

There lived at once with David the third of the Silvii, king of Alba, called Latinus Silvius, who is said to have ruled that part of Italy fifty years. And about his fourteenth year Codrus the last king of the Athenians died, to whom succeeded the first prince of those, who being called after Medon, Medontidæ, without regal name governed Athens during their life.

The reasons which moved the Athenians to change their government were not drawn from any inconvenience found in the rule of sovereignty, but in honour of Codrus only. For when the Grecians of Doris, a region between Phocis and the mountain Œta, sought counsel from the oracle for their success in the wars against the Athenians, it was answered, that then undoubtedly they should prevail, and become lords of that state, when they could obtain any victory against the nation, and yet preserve the Athenian king living. Codrus, by some intelligence being informed of this answer, withdrew himself from his own forces, and putting on the habit of a common soldier entered the camp of the Dorians, and killing the first he encountered, was himself forthwith cut in pieces.

Eupales, the thirty-first king of Assyria, which others account but the thirtieth, began to rule that empire about the thirteenth year of David, and held it thirty-eight years.

Near the same time began Ixion, the second king of the Heraclidæ, the son of Eurysthenes, in Corinth; and Agis, the second of the Heraclidæ, in Lacedæmon: in honour of which Agis, his successors were called Agidæ for many years after. He restored the Laconians to their former liberty; he overcame the citizens of Helos in Laconia, who had refused to pay him tribute; he condemned them and theirs to perpetual slavery; whereof it came, that all the Messenians, whom at length they brought into the like bondage, were after called Helotes.

In like sort from the Sclavi came the word *slave*. For when that nation, issuing out of Sarmatia, now called Russia, had seized upon the country of Illyria, and made it their own by conquest, their victory pleased them so highly, that thereupon they called themselves by a new name, Slavos, which is in their language *glorious*. But in after-times, (that warmer climate having thawed their northern hardiness, and not ripened their wits,) when they were trodden down, and made servants to their neighbours, the Italians, which kept many of them in bondage, began to call all their bondmen slaves, using the word as a name of reproach; in which sense it is now current through many countries.

Other chronologers make this Agis the third king of Sparta, and somewhat later, about the twenty-third year of David, and say, that Achestratus was the fourth king of this race, the same whom [g] Eusebius calls Labotes, and sets him in the thirteenth year of Salomon.

In the tenth year of Achestratus, Androclus, the third son of Codrus, assisted by the Iones, built Ephesus in Caria, who, after the adjoining of the isle of Samos to his territory, was slain by the Carians, whose country he usurped. He was buried (saith Pausanias) in one of the gates of [h] Ephesus, called Magnetes, his armed statua being set over him. Strabo reports, that after Androclus had subdued the Ionians, (the next province to Ephesus, on the sea-coast of Asia the Less,) he enlarged his dominions upon the Æoles, which joineth to Ionia; and that his posterity governed the cities of [i] Ephesus and Erythræ by the name of Basilidæ, in Strabo's own time. Of the expedition of the Iones, how they came hither out of Peloponnesus, I have [k] spoken already upon occasion of the return of the Heraclidæ into Peloponnesus, wherein, with the Dores, they expelled the Achæi, and inhabited their places in that land; though this of the Iones succeeded that of the Heraclidæ 100 years.

[g] Euseb. in Chron.
[h] The east gate of Ephesus towards Magnesia upon the river Mæander.
[i] Arist. l. 5. Pol. c. 6.
[k] See ch. 16. sect. 6. of this book.

The city of Ephesus became exceeding famous: first, for the temple of [l] Diana therein built; which had in length 425 foot, and 220 in breadth, sustained with 127 pillars of marble, of 70 foot high; whereof 27 were most curiously graven, and all the rest of choice marble polished, the work being first set out by Ctesiphon of Gnossos. Secondly, it became renowned by being one of the first that received the Christian faith, of which Timothy was bishop; to whom, and to the Ephesians, St. Paul wrote his epistles so entitled. The other city possessed by Androclus in Æolis was also universally spoken of by reason of Sibylla, surnamed Erythræa, who lived 740 years before Christ born. St. Augustine avoweth, that a Roman proconsul shewed him, in an ancient Greek copy, certain verses of this prophetess; which began (as St. Augustine changed them into Latin) in these words: *Jesus Christus Dei Filius Salvator;* "Jesus Christ Son of God the Saviour."

About the time that Joab besieged Rabba in Moab, Vaphres began to govern in Egypt, the same that was father-in-law to Salomon, whose epistles to Salomon, and his to Vaphres, are remembered by Eusebius out of Polemon. In the twenty-first of David was the city of Magnesia in Asia the Less founded, the same which is seated upon the river Mæander, where Scipio gave the great overthrow to Antiochus. In this territory are the best horses of the Lesser Asia bred; whereof Lucan:

Et Magnetis equis, Minyæ gens cognita remis.

About the same time Cuma in Campania was built by the inhabitants of Chalcis in Eubœa, according to [m] Servius, with whom Strabo joineth the Cumæans of Æolis, saying, that to the one of these people the government was given, with condition that the other should give name to the city. Of this Cuma was Ephorus, the famous scholar of Isocrates.

Eusebius and Cassiodore find the building of Carthage at this time, to wit, in the thirty-first year of David; but

[l] Plin. l. 2. c. 58. et l. 7. c. 37. [m] Serv. in Æneid. 3. Strabo, l. 5.

much mistaken. For the father of Dido was Metinus, the son of Badezor, brother to Jezabel, who married Achab, king of Israel; and between the death of David and the first of Achab there were wasted about ninety-five years.

In this time also Acastus lived, the second of the Athenian princes after Codrus, of which there were thirteen in descent before the state changed into a magistracy of ten years. Some [n] writers make it probable that the Æolians, led by Graus, the grand nephew of Orestes, possessed the city and island of Lesbos about this time. In the thirty-second year of David, Hiram began to reign in Tyre, according to [o] Josephus, who saith, that in his twelfth year Salomon began the work of the temple. But it is a familiar error in Josephus to misreckon times, which in this point he doth so strangely, as if he knew not how at all to cast any account. For it is manifest that Hiram sent messengers and cedars to David soon after his taking of Jerusalem, which was in the very beginning of David's reign over Israel, when as yet he had reigned only seven years in [p] Hebron, over the house of Juda. Wherefore it must needs be that Hiram had reigned above thirty years before Salomon; unless more credit should be given to those Tyrian records which are cited by Josephus, than to the plain words of scripture contradicting them. For that it was the same Hiram which lived both with David and with Salomon, the scriptures make it plainly manifest.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of Salomon.

SECT. I.

Of the establishing of Salomon; of birthright, and of the cause of Adonijah's death, and of Salomon's wisdom.

SALOMON, who was brought up under the prophet Nathan, began to reign over Juda and Israel in the [illegible] of the

[n] Euseb. in Chron. Herod. in Vit. Hom. et Strab. l. 14.

[o] Antiq. 8. et cont.

[p] 2 Sam. v.

world 2991. He was called Salomon by the appointment of God. He was also called Jedidiah, or Theophilus, by Nathan, because the Lord loved him.

Hiram, king of Tyre, after Salomon's anointing, despatched ambassadors toward him, congratulating his establishment; a custom between princes very ancient. Whence we read that David did in like sort salute [q]Hanum, king of the Ammonites, after his obtaining the kingdom.

The beginning of Salomon was in blood, though his reign were peaceable. For soon after David's death he caused his brother Adonijah to be slain by Benaiah, the son of Jehoiada, taking occasion from Adonijah's desiring by Bersabe, that the young maid Abishag, which lay in David's bosom in his latter days, to keep him warm, might be given him. Whatsoever he pretended, it was enough that Adonijah was his elder brother, and sought the kingdom contrary to the will of David, whom God inclined towards Salomon. And yet it is said, that a word is enough to the wise, and he that sees but the claw, may know whether it be a lion or no; so it may seem, that to the quicksighted wisdom of Salomon this motion of Adonijah's was a demonstration of a new treason. For they which had been concubines to a king, might not after be touched but by a king; whence [r]Achitophel wished Absalom to take his father's concubines as a part of the royalty. And David, after that wrong, determining to touch them no more, did not give them to any other, but shut them up, and they remained widowed until their [s]death. And this it seems was the depth of Ishbosheth's quarrel against Abner, for having his father's concubine. And some signification of this custom may seem too in the words of God by Nathan to David; *I have given thee thy master's house and thy master's wives.* And in the words of Saul, upbraiding Jonathan, that he had chosen David to the shame of the [t]nakedness of his mother. Hereunto perhaps was some reference to this purpose of Adonijah to marry with her that was always present with David in his latter days, and who belike knew all that

[q] 2 Sam. x. [r] 2 Sam. xvi. 21. [s] 2 Sam. xx. 3. [t] 1 Sam. xx. 30.

was past for the conveying of the kingdom to Salomon. There might be divers further occasions, as, either that he would learn such things by her as might be for the advantage of his ambition, or that he would persuade her to forge some strange tale about David's last testament, or any thing else that might prejudice the title of Salomon.

As for the right of an elder brother, which [u]Adonijah pretended, though generally it agreed both with the law of nations and with the customs of the Jews; yet the kings of the Jews were so absolute, as they did therein, and in all else, what they pleased. Some [x]examples also they had, (though not of kings,) which taught them to use this paternal authority in transferring the birthright to a younger son; namely, of Jacob's disheriting Reuben, and giving the birthright (which was twice as much as any portion of the other brethren) to Joseph; of whom he made two tribes. And that it was generally acknowledged that this power was in David, it appears by the words of Bersabe and Nathan to David, and of Jonathan to Adonijah. For as for popular election, that it was necessary to confirm, or that the refusal of the people had authority to frustrate the elder brother's right to the kingdom, it nowhere appears in the stories of the Jews. It is said indeed that the people made Saul king at [y]Gilgal; that is, they acknowledged and established him. For that he was king long before, no man can doubt. In like manner elsewhere the phrase of choosing or making their king is to be expounded; as where in the prohibition, that they should not make themselves a king, it is said, [z] *Thou shalt make him king whom the Lord shall choose.*

But to proceed with the acts of Salomon. At the same time that he put Adonijah to death, he rid himself also of Joab, and three years after of Shimei, as David had advised him: he displaced also the priest [a]Abiathar, [illegible] part

[u] 1 Kings ii. 15.
[x] Deut. xxi. 15. Filium exosum agnoscito dando ei portionem duorum: nam ipsius est jus primogenitorum. 1 Reg. i. 17. et xx. 29. 34.

1 Kings i. 20. 27
[y] 1 Sam. xi. 14
[z] Deut. xvii. 15
[a] 1 Kings ii.

with Adonijah against him; but in respect of his office, and that he followed David in all his afflictions, and because he had borne the ark of God before his father, he spared his life. And thus being established in his kingdom, he took the daughter of Vaphres, king of Egypt, to wife; for so Eusebius out of Eupolemus calls him. He offered a thousand sacrifices at Gibeon, where God appearing unto him in a dream, bade him ask what he would at his hands: Solomon chooseth wisdom, which pleased God. *And God said unto him, Because thou hast asked this thing, and hast not asked for thyself long life, neither hast thou asked riches for thyself, nor hast asked the life of thine enemies, behold, I have done according to thy words.* By which we may inform ourselves what desires are most pleasing to God, and what not. For the coveting after long life, in respect of ourselves, cannot but proceed of self-love, which is the root of all impiety: the desire of private riches is an affection of covetousness, which God abhorreth: to affect revenge, is as much as to take the sword out of God's hand, and to distrust his justice. And in that it pleased God to make Salomon know that it liked him that he had not asked the life of his enemies, it could not but put him in mind of his brother's slaughter, for which he had not any warrant either from David or from the law of God. But because Salomon desired wisdom only, which taught him both to obey God and to rule men, it pleased God to give him withal that which he desired not. *And I have also given thee,* saith God, *that which thou hast not asked, both riches and honour.* This gift of wisdom our commentators stretch to almost all kinds of learning: but that it comprehended the knowledge of the nature of plants and living creatures, the scripture testifieth; though no doubt the chief excellency of [b] Salomon's wisdom was in the knowledge of governing his kingdom; whence, as it were for an example of his wisdom, the scripture telleth how soon he judged the controversy between the two harlots.

[b] 1 Kings iv. 33. 1 Kings iii. 9.

SECT. II.

Of Salomon's buildings and glory.

HE then entered into league with Hiram, king of Tyre, from whom he had much of his materials for the king's palace and the temple of God; for the building whereof he had received a double charge, one from his father David, and another from God. For like as it is written of David, 1 Chron. xxii. 6. *That he called Salomon his son, and charged him to build a house for the Lord God of Israel;* so doth [c] Tostatus give the force of a divine precept to these words, *Behold, a son is born unto thee,* &c. *he shall build an house for my name.*

[d] He began the work of the temple in the beginning of the fourth year of his reign, at which time also he prepared his fleet at Ezion-gaber, to trade for gold in the East Indies, that nothing might be wanting to supply the charge of so great a work. For that the temple was in building while his fleets were passing to and fro, it is manifest; for the pillars of the temple were made of the almaggim trees brought from Ophir. Of this most glorious building, of all the particulars (whereof the [e] form and example was given by God himself) many learned men have written, as Salmeron, Montanus, Ribera, Barradas, Azorius, Villalpandus, Pineda, and others, to whom I refer the reader.

For the cutting and squaring of the cedars which served that building, Salomon employed thirty thousand carpenters, ten thousand every month by course: he also used [f] eighty thousand masons in the mountain, and seventy thousand labourers that bare burdens, which, it is conceived, he selected out of the proselytes, besides three thousand three hundred masters of his work; so as he paid and employed in all, one hundred eighty three thousand and three hundred men; in which number the Zidonians, which were more skilful in hewing timber than the Israelites, may, as I think, be included. For [g] Hiram caused his servants to bring

[c] Tost. 9. 26. in 1 Chron.
[d] 1 Kings vi.
[e] 1 Chron. xxviii. 29.
[f] 1 Kings v.
[g] 1 Kings v. 9.

down the cedars and firs from Lebanon to the sea, and thence sent them in raffs to Joppe, or the next port to Jerusalem. For in 2 Chron. ii. it is plain that all but the thirty thousand carpenters and the overseers were strangers, and, as it seemeth, the vassals of [h] Hiram and of Vaphres king of Egypt. In recompense of all this timber and stone, Salomon gave Hiram twenty thousand measures of wheat, and twenty measures of pure oil yearly. Eusebius out of Eupolemus, in the ninth book of his Preparation, the last chapter, hath left us a copy of Salomon's letter to Suron, (which was the same as Huram, or Hiram,) king of Tyre, in these words:

Rex Salomon Suroni, Tyri, Sidonis, atque Phœniciæ regi, amico paterno salutem. Scias me a Deo magno David patris mei regnum accepisse, cumque mihi pater præcepit templum Deo, qui terram creavit, condere, ut etiam ad te scriberem præcepit: scribo igitur, et peto a te ut artifices atque fabros ad ædificandum templum Dei mittere velis.

" King Salomon to king Suron, of Tyre, Sidon, and " Phœnicia, king, and my father's friend, sendeth greeting. " You may understand, that I have received of the great " God of my father David the kingdom; and when my " father commanded me to build a temple to God which " created heaven and earth, he commanded also that I " should write to you. I write therefore to you, and be- " seech you, that you would be pleased to send me artificers " and carpenters to build the temple of God."

To which the king Suron made this answer.

Suron, Tyri, Sidonis, et Phœniciæ rex, Salomoni regi salutem. Lectis litteris gratias egi Deo, qui tibi regnum patris tradidit: et quoniam scribis fabros ministrosque ad condendum templum esse tibi mittendos, misi ad te millia hominum octoginta, et architectum Tyrium hominem ex matre Judæa, virum in rebus architecturæ mirabilem. Curabis igitur ut necessariis non egeant, et templo Dei condito ad nos redeant.

" Suron, of Tyre, Sidon, and Phœnicia king, to king Sa-

[h] 1 Kings v. 11.

"lomon, greeting. When I read your letters, I gave God "thanks, who hath installed you in your father's kingdom. "And because you write that carpenters and workmen may "be sent to build God's temple, I have sent unto you four- "score thousand men, and a master-builder, a Tyrian, born "of a Jewish woman, a man admirable in building. You "will be careful that all necessaries be provided for them, "and, when the temple of God is built, that they come "home to us."

The copies of these letters were extant in [i] Josephus's time, as himself affirmeth, and to be seen, saith he, *tam in nostris quam in Tyriorum annalibus;* "as well in our "own as in the Tyrian annals." But he delivereth them somewhat in different terms, as the reader may find in his Antiquities. But were this intercourse between Salomon and Hiram either by message or by writing, it is somewhat otherwise delivered in the [k] scriptures than either Eupolemus or Josephus set it down; but so, that in substance there is little difference between the one and the other.

The like letter in effect Salomon is said to have written to Vaphres, king of Egypt, and was answered as from Hiram.

But whereas some commentors upon Salomon find that Hiram king of Tyre, and Vaphres king of Egypt, gave Salomon the title of *rex magnus*, and cite Eupolemon in Eusebius; I do not find any such addition of *magnus* in Eusebius, in the last chapter of that ninth book; neither is it in Josephus, in the eighth book and second chapter of the Jews' Antiquities; it being a vain title used by some of the Assyrian and Persian kings, and used likewise by the Parthians, and many other after them, insomuch as in latter times it grew common, and was usurped by mean persons in respect of the great Hermes the first, which was honoured by that name for his noble qualities, as much or more than for his mightiness.

After the finishing and dedication of the temple and house of the Lord, Salomon fortified Jerusalem with a treble wall,

[i] Joseph. Ant. l. 8. c. 2. [k] 1 Kings v. 1—9.

and repaired Hazor, which had been the ancient metropolis of the Canaanites before Joshua's time; so did he Gaza of the Philistines: he built [l]Bethoron, Gerar, and the Millo or munition of Jerusalem. For Pharaoh (as it seemeth in favour of Salomon) came up into the edge of Ephraim, and took Gerar, which the Canaanites yet held, and put them to the sword, and burnt their city. The place and territory he gave Salomon's wife for a dowry. And it is probable, that because Salomon was then busied in his magnificent buildings, and could not attend the war, that he entreated his father-in-law to rid him of those neighbours, which Pharaoh performed. But he thereby taught the Egyptians to visit those parts again before they were sent for; and in his son Rehoboam's time Sheshack, this man's successor, did sack Jerusalem itself.

Salomon also built Megiddo in Manasse, on this side Jordan, and Balah in Dan; also Thadmor, which may be either Ptolemy's Thamoron, in the desert of Juda, or (as [m]Josephus thinks) Palmyra in the desert of Syria, which Palmyra, because it stood on the utmost border of Salomon's dominion, to the north-east of Libanus, and was of David's conquest when he won Damascus, it may seem that Salomon therefore bestowed thereon the most cost, and fortified it with the best art that that age had. [n]Josephus calls this place Thadamora, by which name, saith he, given by Salomon, the Syrians as yet call it. Jerome, in his book of Hebrew places, calls it Thermeth. In after-times, when it was rebuilt by Adrian the emperor, it was honoured with his name, and called Adrianopolis. In respect of this great charge of building, Salomon raised tribute through all his dominions; besides an hundred and twenty talents of gold received from Hiram's servants, Salomon offered Hiram twenty towns in or near the Upper Galilee; but because they stood in an unfruitful and marish ground, Hiram refused them, and thereof was the territory called Chabul.

These towns, as it is supposed, lay in Galilee of the Gen-

[l] Joseph. Ant. l. 8. c. 2. [m] Ibid. [n] Ibid.

tiles, *Non quod Gentes ibi habitarent: sed quia sub ditione regis Gentilis erat;* "Not that it was possessed by the Gen- "tiles," saith Nauclerus, "but because it was under the "rule of a king that was a Gentile." Howsoever it were, it is true that Salomon, in his twenty-first year, fortified those places which Hiram refused. Further, he made a journey into Syria-Zobah, and established his tributes; the first and last war (if in that expedition he were driven to fight) that he made in person in all his life. He then visited the border of all his dominions, passing from Thadmor to the north of Palmyrena, and so to the deserts of Idumæa, from whence he visited Eziongaber and Eloth, the uttermost place of the south of all his territories, bordering to the Red sea; which cities I have described in the story of Moses.

SECT. III.

Of Salomon's sending to Ophir, and of some seeming contradictions about Salomon's riches, and of Pineda's conceit of two strange passages about Africk.

HERE Salomon prepared his fleet of ships for India, with whom Hiram joined in that voyage, and furnished him with mariners and pilots, the Tyrians being of all others the most expert seamen. From this part of Arabia, which at this time belonged to Edom, and was conquered by David, did the fleet pass on to the East Indies, which was not far off, namely to Ophir, one of the islands of the Moluccas, a place exceeding rich in gold: witness the Spaniards, who, notwithstanding all the abundance which they gather in Peru, do yet plant in those islands of the east at Manilia, and recover a great quantity from thence, and with less labour than they do in any one part of Peru or New Spain.

The return which was made by these ships amounted to four hundred and twenty talents; but in 2 Chron. viii. it is written four hundred and fifty talents; whereof thirty talents went in expense for the charge of the fleet and wages of men, and four hundred and twenty talents, which makes five and twenty hundred and twenty thousand crowns, came clear. And thus must those two places be reconciled. As for the

place, 1 Kings x. 14, which speaketh of six hundred sixty and six talents of gold, that sum, as I take it, is of other receipts of Salomon's which were yearly, and which came to him besides these profits from Ophir.

My opinion of the land of Ophir, that it is not Peru in America, (as divers have thought,) but a country in the East Indies; with some reason why at those times they could not make more speedy return to Jerusalem from the East Indies than in three years; and that Tharsis in scripture is divers times taken for the ocean; hath been already declared in the [o]first book.

Only it remaineth that I should speak somewhat of Pineda's strange conceits, who, being a Spaniard of Bætica, would fain have Gades, or Calismalis, in old times called Tartessus, which is the south-west corner of that province, to be the Tharsis from whence Salomon fetched his gold; for no other reason, as it seems, but for love of his own country, and because of some affinity of sound between Tharsis and Tartessus. For whereas it may seem strange that it should be three year ere they that took ship in the Red sea should return from the East Indies to Jerusalem, this hath been in part answered already. And further, the intelligent may conceive of sundry lets, in the digging and refining of the metal, and in their other traffick, and in their land carriages between Jerusalem and the Red sea, and perhaps also elsewhere: so that we have no need to make Salomon's men to go many thousand miles out of their way to Gades, round about all Africk, that so they might be long a coming home.

For the direct way to Gades (which if Salomon and the Israelites knew not, the Tyrians which went with them could not have been ignorant of) was along the Mediterran sea, and so (besides many wonderful inconveniences and terrible navigation in rounding Africa) they should have escaped the troublesome land carriage between Jerusalem and the Red sea, through dry, desert, and thievish

[o] Chap. 8. sect. 9. 10. §. 5. Lib. 4. de Rebus Salomonis, c. 6. et 15.

countries; and within thirty mile of Jerusalem, at Joppe, or some other haven in Salomon's own country, have laden and unladen their ships.

But this direct course they could not hold, saith Pineda, because the huge island of Atlantis, in largeness greater than all Africk and Asia, being swallowed up in the Atlantic ocean, hindered Salomon's ships from passing through the straits of Gibraltar: for this he allegeth Plato in Timæo. But that this calamity happened about Salomon's time, or that thereby the straits of Gades were filled with mud, and made unpassable, that there could be no coming to Gades by the Mediterran sea; or that this indraught, where the sea runneth most violently, and most easily scoureth his channel, should be filled with mud, and not also the great ocean in like manner, where this huge island is supposed to have stood; or that Salomon's ships being in the Red sea should neglect the golden mines of the East Indies (which were infinitely better, and nearer to the Red sea than any in Spain) to seek gold at Cadiz by the way of compassing Africa, it is most ridiculous to imagine. For the Spaniard himself, that hath also the rich Peru in the west, fortifieth in the East Indies, and inhabits some part thereof, as in Manilia, finding in those parts no less quantity of gold (the small territory which he there possesseth considered) than in Peru.

The same [p] Pineda hath another strange passage round about all Africa, which elsewhere he dreams of: supposing, whereas Jonas sailing to Tharsis the city of Cilicia was cast out in the Mediterran sea, and taken up there by a whale; that this whale, in three days, swimming above twelve thousand English miles, along the Mediterran seas, and so through the straits of Gades, and along the huge seas round about Africa, cast up Jonas upon the shore of the Red sea, that so he might have perhaps some six miles the shorter (though much the worse) way to Nineveh. This conceit he grounds only upon the ambiguity of the word

[p] De Rebus Sal. l. 4. c. 12. 11. As it appears he took ship at Japho, or Joppe, ch. i. 3.

Suph, which oftentimes is an epitheton of the Red sea (as if we should call it *mare algosum*, the sea full of weeds) for the Red sea. But in Jonas ii. 5. it is generally taken in the proper signification for weeds, and not as Pineda would have it, who in this place, against his own rule, (which elsewhere he giveth us,) supposeth strange miracles without any need. For this long voyage of the whale finished in three days, is a greater miracle than the very preservation of Jonas in the belly of the whale: and therefore seeing there is no necessity of this miracle, we send it back unto him, keeping his own rule, which in this place he forgets; *Miracula non sunt multiplicanda.* And again, [q] *Non sunt miracula gratis danda, nec pro arbitrio nova fingenda;* "Miracles are not to be multiplied without necessity, nor "delivered without cause, nor feigned at pleasure." Therefore to leave this man in his dreams, which (were he not otherwise very learned and judicious) might be thought unworthy the mentioning. But to proceed with our story of Salomon.

The queen of Saba's coming from far to Salomon, (as it seems from Arabia Felix, and not, as some think, from Ethiopia,) and her rich presents, and Salomon's reciprocal magnificence, and his resolving of her difficult questions, those are set down at large in the text. But herein [r] Josephus is greatly mistaken, who calls this queen of Saba Nicaules, the successor (saith he out of Herodotus) of those thirty and eight Egyptian kings which succeeded Mineus, the founder of Memphis; adding, that after this Egyptian, and the father-in-law of Salomon, the name of Pharaoh was left off in Egypt. For as it is elsewhere proved that the queen was of Arabia, not of Egypt and Ethiopia; so were there other Pharaohs after the father-in-law of Salomon; yea, above three hundred years after Salomon, [s] Pharaoh-Necho slew Josias king of Juda.

It is also written of Salomon, that he kept in garrisons fourteen thousand chariots and twelve thousand horsemen;

[q] Ing. F.
[r] Joseph. Ant. l. 8. 1, 2.
[s] 2 Kings xxiii. and 2 Chron. xxv Jer. xlvi. 2.

that he spent in court every day thirty measures of fine flour, threescore measures of wheat, one hundred sheep, besides stags and fallow deer, bugles and fowl; four thousand stalls of horses he had for his chariots and other uses, and for the twelve thousand horsemen of his guard. For the forty thousand stalls, in 1 Kings iv. are to be taken but for so many horses; whence in 2 Chron. ix. it is written but four thousand stalls or teams, and in every team ten horses, as Junius and the Geneva understand it. He was said to be wiser than any man, yea, than were [t]Ethan the Ezrahite, than Heman, Chalcal, or than Darda, to which Junius addeth a fifth, to wit, Ezrack: for the Geneva maketh Ethan an Ezrahite by nation. Josephus writes them Athan, Æman, Chalceus, and Donan, the sons of Hemon. He spake three thousand proverbs, and his songs were one thousand and five, whereof either the most part perished in the captivity of Babylon, or else because many acts of Salomon's were written and kept among the public records of civil causes, and not ecclesiastical, therefore they were not thought necessary to be inserted into God's book.

SECT. IV.

Of the fall of Salomon, and how long he lived.

NOW as he had plenty of all other things, so had he no scarcity of women. For besides his seven hundred wives, he kept three hundred concubines, and (forgetting that God had commanded that none of his people should accompany the daughters of idolaters) he took wives out of Egypt, Edom, Moab, Ammon, Zidon, and Heth; and when he fell a doating, his wives turned his heart after other gods, as Ashtaroth of the Zidonians, Milcom or Molech of the Ammonites, and Chemosh of Moab.

These things God punished by Adad of Idumæa, Rezin of Damascus, and by Jeroboam his own servant, and one of the masters of his works, who by the ordinance of God tare from his son Rehoboam ten of the twelve parts of all the territory he had: [u]*Deus dum in peccatores animad-*

[t] 1 Kings iv. 31. [u] P. Mart. in Reg.

vertit, aliorum peccatis utitur, quæ ipse non fecit; "God "in punishing sinners, useth the sins of others, which he "himself wrought not."

In the reign of Salomon (as in times of long peace) were few memorable actions by him performed, excepting his buildings, with other works of magnificence, and that great Indian voyage already mentioned. Forty years he reigned; how many he lived, it is not written, and must therefore be found only by conjecture. The most likely way to guess at the truth in this case, is by considering the actions of David before and after Salomon's birth, whereby we may best make estimation of the years which they consumed, and consequently learn the true or most likely year of his nativity. Seven years David reigned in Hebron: in his eighth year he took Jerusalem, and warred with the Philistines, who also troubled him in the year following. The bringing home of the ark seems to have been in the tenth year of David, and his intention to build the temple in the [x] year ensuing, at which time he had sufficient leisure, living in rest. After this he had wars with the Philistines, Moabites, Aramites, and Edomites, which must needs have held him five years, considered that the Aramites of Damasco raised war against him after such time as he had beaten Hadadezer; and that in every of these wars he had the entire [y] victory. Neither is it likely that these services occupied any longer time, because in those days and places there were no wintering camps in use, but at convenient seasons of the year kings went forth to war, despatching all with violence rather than with temporizing; as maintaining their armies partly upon the spoil of the enemies' country, partly upon the [z] private provision which every soldier made for himself. The seventeenth year of David, in which he took Mephibosheth the son of Jonathan into his court, appeareth to have passed away in quiet, and the year following to have begun the war with Ammon; but somewhat late, in the end of summer perhaps, it came to trial of a battle, (for Joab after the victory returned immediately to

[x] 1 Kings vii. 1. [y] 2 Sam. xi. 1. [z] 1 Sam. xvii. 17, 18.

Jerusalem,) the causes and preparations for that war having taken up all the summer. David's personal expedition against the Aramites, wherein he brought all the tributaries of Hadadezer under his own allegiance, appears manifestly to have been the next year's work, wherein he did cut off all means of succour from the Ammonites; all Syria, Moab, and Idumæa being now at his own devotion. By this reckoning it must have been the twentieth year of David's reign, and about the fiftieth of his life, in which he sent forth Joab to besiege Rabba, and finished the war of Ammon; wherein also fell out the matter of Uriah's wife. So one half of David's reign was very prosperous; in the other half he felt great sorrow by the expectation, execution, and sad remembrance of that heavy judgment laid upon him by God for his foul and bloody offence.

Now very manifest it is, that in the year after the death of that child which was begotten in adultery, Salomon was born, who must needs therefore have been nineteen years old, or thereabout, when he began to reign at the decease of his father, as being begotten in the twenty-first year of his father's reign, who reigned in all forty.

This account hath also good coherence with the following times of David, as may be collected out of ensuing actions: for two years passed ere Absalom slew his brother Ammon; three years ere his father pardoned him; and two years more ere he came into the king's presence. After this he prepared horses and men, and laid the foundation of his rebellion, which seems to have been one year's work. So the rebellion itself, with all that happened thereupon, as the commotion made by Sheba, the death of Amasa, and the rest, may well seem to have been in the thirtieth year of David's reign.

Whether the three years of famine should be reckoned apart from the last years of war with the Philistines, or confounded with them, it were more hard than needful to conjecture. Plain enough it is, that in the ten remaining years of David there was time sufficient, and to spare, both for three years of famine, for four years of war, and for num-

bering the people, with the pestilence ensuing; as also for his own last infirmity, and disposing of the kingdom. Yet indeed it seems that the war with the Philistines was but one year's work, and ended in three or four fights, of which the two or three former were at Gob, or Nob, near unto Gezer, and the last at Gath. This war the Philistines undertook, as it seemeth, upon confidence gathered out of the tumults in Israel, and perhaps emboldened by David's old age, for he fainted now in the battle, and was afterwards hindered by his men from exposing himself unto danger any more. So David had six or seven years of rest, in which time it is likely that many of his great men of war died, (being of his own age,) whereby the stirring spirit of Adonijah found little succour in the broken party of Joab the son of Zeruiah.

At this time it might both truly be said by [a] David to Salomon, *Thou art a wise man*, and by Salomon to God, *I am but a young child;* for nineteen years of age might well agree with either of these two speeches.

Nevertheless there are some that gather out of Salomon's professing himself a child, that he was but eleven years old when he began to reign. Of these Rabbi Salomon seems the first author, whom other of great learning and judgment have herein followed; grounding themselves perhaps upon that which is said of [b] Absalom's rebellion, that it was after forty years, which they understand as years of David's reign. But whereas Rehoboam the son of Salomon was forty-one years old when he began to reign, it would follow hereby that his father had begotten him, being himself but a child of nine or ten years old; the difference between their ages being no greater, if Salomon (who reigned forty years) were but eleven years old when his reign began. To avoid this inconvenience, Josephus allows eighty years of reign to Salomon; a report so disagreeing with the scriptures, that it needs no confutation. Some indeed have, in favour of this opinion, construed the words of Josephus, as if they included all the years of Salomon's life. But by

[a] 1 Kings ii. 9. and iii. 7. [b] 2 Sam. xv. 7.

such reckoning he should have been forty years old at his father's death; and consequently should have been born long before his father had won Jerusalem; which is a manifest untruth. Wherefore the forty years remembered in Absalom's rebellion, may either seem to have reference to the space between David's first anointment and the trouble which God brought upon him for his wickedness, or perhaps be read (according to Josephus, Theodoret, and the Latin translation) four years; which passed between the return of Absalom to Jerusalem and his breaking out.

SECT. V.

Of Salomon's writings.

THERE remain of Salomon's works the Proverbs, the Preacher, and the Song of Salomon. In the first, he teacheth good life, and correcteth manners; in the second, the vanity of human nature; in the third, he singeth as it were the epithalamion of Christ and his church. For the book entitled the Wisdom of Salomon, (which some give unto Salomon, and some make the elder Philo the author thereof,) Jerome, and many others of the best learned, make us think it was not Salomon that wrote it: *Stylus libri Sapientiæ* (saith [c] Jerome) *qui Salomonis inscribitur, Græcam redolet eloquentiam;* "The style of the Book of Wisdom, "which is ascribed to Salomon, savoureth of the Grecian "eloquence." And of the same opinion was St. Augustine; and yet he confesseth in the 19th book and 20th chapter of the City of God, that the author of that book hath a direct foretelling of the passion of Christ in these words: [d] *Circumveniamus justum, quoniam insuavis est nobis*, &c. "Let "us circumvent the righteous, for he is unpleasing to us, "he is contrary to our doings, he checketh us for offend-"ing against the law, he makes his boast to have the know-"ledge of God, and he calleth himself the Son of the "Lord," &c. And so doth the course of all the following words point directly at Christ. The books of Ecclesiastes,

[c] Hier. ad Cromasium. [d] Sap. ii.

Proverbs, and [e] Cantica Canticorum, Rabbi Moses Kimchi ascribeth to Isaiah the prophet. Suidas and Cedrenus report, that Salomon wrate of the remedies of all diseases, and graved the same on the sides of the porch of the temple, which they say [f] Ezechias pulled down, because the people, neglecting help from God by prayer, repaired thither for their recoveries.

Of Salomon's books of invocations and enchantments, to cure diseases and expel evil spirits, Josephus hath written at large, though, as I conceive, rather out of his own invention, or from some uncertain report, than truly.

He also speaketh of one Eliazarus, who, by the root in Salomon's ring, dispossessed divers persons of evil spirits in the presence of Vespasian and many others; which I will not stand to examine.

Certainly, so strange an example of human frailty hath never been read of as this king; who having received wisdom from God himself, in honour of whom, and for his only service, he built the first and most glorious temple of the world; he that was made king of Israel and Judæa, not by the law of nature but by the love of God, and became the wisest, richest, and happiest of all kings, did, in the end, by the persuasion of a few weak and wretched idolatrous women, forget and forsake the Lord of all the world and the Giver of all goodness, of which he was more liberal to this king than to any that ever the world had. Of whom Siracides writeth in this manner: "Salomon reigned in a "peaceable time and was glorious; for God made all quiet "round about, that he might build a house in his name, "and prepare the sanctuary for ever: how wise wast thou "in thy youth, and wast filled with understanding as with "a flood! Thy mind covered the whole earth, and hath "filled it with grave and dark sentences. Thy name went "abroad in the isles, and for thy peace thou wast beloved," &c. But thus he concludeth; "Thou didst bow thy loins "to women, and wast overcome by thy body; thou didst

[e] S. Sen. f. 62. [f] Reinecc. in Jul. Hist.

"stain thine honour, and hast defiled thy posterity, and "hast brought wrath upon thy children, and felt sorrow "for thy folly." chap. xxvii.

SECT. VI.

Of the contemporaries of Salomon.

NEAR the beginning of Salomon's reign, Agelaus, the third of the Heraclidæ, in Corinth; Labotes, in Lacedæmon; and soon after, Sylvius Alba, the fourth of the Sylvii, swayed those kingdoms; Laosthenes then governing Assyria; Agastus and Archippus, the second and third princes after Codrus, ruling the Athenians.

In the twenty-sixth of Salomon's reign, Hiram of Tyre died, to whom Baliastrus succeeded, and reigned seventeen years, after Mercator's account, who reckons the time of his rule by the age of his sons. [5] Josephus gives him fewer years. Theophilus Antiochenus, against Autolicus, finds Bozorius the next after Hiram, if there be not some kings omitted between the death of Hiram and the reign of Bozorius.

Vaphres being dead, about the twentieth of Salomon, Sesac, or Shisak, (as our English Geneva terms him,) began to govern in Egypt, being the same with him whom Diodorus calleth Sosachis; Josephus, Susac; Cedrenus, Susesinus; Eusebius, in the column of the Egyptian kings, Smendes, and in that of the Hebrews Susac. Josephus, in the eighth of his Antiquities, reproveth it as an error in Herodotus, that he ascribeth the acts of Susac to Sesostris, which perchance Herodotus might have done by comparison, accounting Sesac another Sesostris, for the great things he did.

Of the great acts and virtues of king Sesostris I have spoken already in the story of the Egyptian princes: only in this he was reproved, that he caused four of his captive kings to draw his caroche, when he was disposed to be seen, and to ride in triumph: one of which four, saith Eutropius, at such time as Sesostris was carried out to take the air, cast

[5] Ant. lib. 3.

his head continually back upon the two foremost wheels next him; which Sesostris perceiving, asked him what he found worthy the admiration in that motion: to whom the captive king answered, that in those he beheld the instability of all worldly things; for that both the lowest part of the wheel was suddenly carried about, and became the highest, and the uppermost part was as suddenly turned downward and under all: which when [h] Sesostris had judiciously weighed, he dismissed those princes, and all others, from the like servitude in the future. Of this Sesostris, and that he could not be taken for Sesac, I have spoken at large in that part of the Egyptian kings preceding.

CHAP. XIX.

Of Salomon's successors until the end of Jehosaphat.

SECT. I.

Of Rehoboam's beginnings: the defection of the ten tribes, and Jeroboam's idolatry.

REHOBOAM, the son of Salomon by Nahama an Ammonitess, now forty years old, succeeded his father Salomon, and was anointed at Sichem, where the ten tribes of Israel were assembled; who attended a while the return of Jeroboam, as yet in Egypt, since he fled thither fearing Salomon. After his arrival, the people presented a petition to Rehoboam, to be eased of those great tributes laid on them by his father: [i] *Sic enim firmius ei fore imperium, si amari mallet quam metui;* "So should his empire," saith Josephus, "be more assured, if he desired rather to be beloved "than feared:" whereof he took three days to deliberate before his answer; of whom therefore it could not be said as of David, that he was wiser than all his teachers. For as of himself he knew not how to resolve, so had he not the judgment to discern of counsels, which is the very test of

[h] Hist. Miscel. l. 17. [i] Ant. lib. 8. c. 3.

wisdom in princes, and in all men else. But notwithstanding that he had consulted with those grave and advised men that served his father, who persuaded him by all means to satisfy the multitude; he was transported by his familiars and favourites, not only to continue on the backs of his subjects those burdens which greatly crushed them; but (vaunting falsely of greatness exceeding his father's) he threatened in sharp, or rather in terrible terms, to lay yet heavier and more unsupportable loads on them. But, as it appeared by the success, those younger advisers greatly mistook the nature of severity, which without the temper of clemency is no other than cruelty itself: they also were ignorant that it ought to be used for the help, and not for the harm of subjects. For what is the strength of a king left by his people? and what cords or fetters have ever lasted long, but those which have been twisted and forged by love only? His witless parasites could well judge of the king's disposition; and being well learned therein, though ignorant in all things else, it sufficed and enabled them sufficiently for the places they held. But this answer of Rehoboam did not a little advance Jeroboam's designs. For being foretold by the prophet Achiah of his future advancement, these the king's threats (changing the people's love into fury) confirmed and gave courage to his hopes. For he was no sooner arrived, than elected king of Israel; the people crying out, What portion have we in David? we have no inheritance in the son of Ishai. Now though themselves, even [k] all the tribes of Israel, had consented to David's anointing at Hebron the second time, acknowledging that they were his bones and his flesh; yet now, after the manner of rebels, they forgat both the bonds of nature and their duty to God, and, as all alienated resolved hearts do, they served themselves for the present with impudent excuses. And now over-late, and after time, Rehoboam sent Adoram, one of the taxers of the people, a man most hateful to all his subjects, to pacify them, whom they instantly beat to death with stones. Whereupon the king affrighted, got him from [l] Sichem with

[k] 2 Sam. v. 1. [l] 1 Kings xii. 21.

all speed, and recovered Jerusalem, where preparing to invade Israel with an hundred and fourscore thousand chosen men, Shemai in the person of God commanding to the contrary, all was stayed for the present. In the mean time Jeroboam the new king fortified Sechem on this side, and Penuel on the other side of Jordan; and fearing that the union and exercise of one religion would also join the people's hearts again to the house of David, and having in all likelihood also promised the Egyptians to follow their idolatry, he set up two calves of gold for the children of Israel to worship, impiously persuading them that those were the gods, or at least by these he represented those gods, which delivered them out of Egypt; and, refusing the service of the Levites, he made priests fit for such gods. It must needs be, that by banishing the Levites, which served David and Salomon through all Israel, Jeroboam greatly enriched himself, as taking into his hands all those cities which were given them by Moses and Joshua; for, as it is written, *the Levites left their suburbs and their possession, and came to Juda*, &c. This irreligious policy of Jeroboam (which was the foundation of an idolatry that never could be rooted out, until Israel for it was rooted out of the land) was by prophecy and miracles impugned sufficiently when it first began; but the affections maintaining it were so strong, that neither [m] prophecy nor miracle could make them yield. Jeroboam could not be moved now by the authority of Ahia, who from the Lord had first promised unto him the kingdom; nor by the [m] withering of his own hand as he stretched it over the altar, which also clave asunder, according to the sign which the man of God had given by the commandment of God, who again recovered and cured him of that defect; yet he continued as obstinate an idolater as before, for he held it the safest course in policy to proceed as he had begun. This impious invention of Jeroboam, who forsook God, and the religion of his forefathers, by God and his ministers taught them, was by a modern historian compared with the policies of late ages, observing

[m] 1 Kings xiii. 4, 5, 6.

well the practice of his nation, being an Italian born: *Sic qui hodie*, saith he, *politici vocantur, et propria commoda, præsentesque utilitates sibi tanquam ultimum finem constituunt, causam quam vocant status in capite omnium ponunt: pro ipsa tuenda, promovenda, conservanda, amplianda, nihil non faciendum putant. Si injuria proximo irroganda, si justitiæ honestatisque leges subvertendæ, si religio ipsa pessundanda, si denique omnia jura divina et humana violanda, nihil intentatum, nihil per fas nefasque relinquendum censent, cuncta ruant, omnia pereant, nihil ad ipsos, modo id, quod e re sua esse sibi persuadent, obtineant, ac si nullus sit qui talia curet, castigareve possit Deus*; "So they who are now called politicians, propounding to themselves, as their utmost end and scope, their own commodity and present profit, are wont to allege the case of state, forsooth, as the principal point to be regarded: for the good of the state, for advancing, preserving, or increasing of the state, they think they may do any thing. If they mean to oppress their neighbour, to overturn all laws of justice and honesty, if religion itself must go to wreck, yea, if all rights of God and man must be violated, they will try all courses, be it right, be it wrong, they will do any thing; let all go to ruin, what care they, so long as they may have what they would; as who should say, there were no God that would offer to meddle in such matters, or had power to correct them."

Indeed this allegation of Raggione del Stato did serve as well to uphold, as at the first it had done to bring in this vile idolatry of the ten tribes. Upon this ground Amazia, the priest of Bethel, counselled the prophet [n] Amos not to prophesy at Bethel; *For*, said he, *it is the king's court.* Upon this ground even [o] Jehu, that had massacred the priests of Baal in zeal for the Lord, yet would not in any wise depart from that politic sin of *Jeroboam the son of* [p] *Nebat, which made Israel to sin.* It was reason of state that persuaded the last famous French king, Henry the Fourth, to change his religion; yet the protestants whom he forsook

[n] Amos vii. 13. [o] 2 Kings x. 16. [p] 2 Kings x. 31.

obeyed him, but some of the papists whom he followed murdered him. So strongly doth the painted vizor of wise proceeding delude even those that know the foul face of impiety lurking under it, and behold the wretched ends that have ever followed it; whereof Jehu and all the kings of Israel had, and were themselves, very great examples.

SECT. II.

Of Rehoboam's impiety, for which he was punished by Sesac; of his end and contemporaries.

WHILE Jeroboam was occupied in setting up his new religion, Rehoboam on the other side having now little hope to recover the provinces lost, strengthened the principal places remaining with all endeavour; for he fortified and victualled fifteen cities of [q] Juda and Benjamin: not that he feared Jeroboam alone, but the Egyptians, to whom Jeroboam had not only fastened himself, but withal invited them to invade Judæa; laying perchance before them the incountable riches of David and Salomon, which might now easily be had, seeing ten of the twelve tribes were revolted, and become enemies to the Judæans. So as by those two ways, (of late years often trodden,) to wit, change of religion and invitation of foreign force, Jeroboam hoped to settle himself in the seat of Israel, whom yet the powerful God for his idolatry in a few years after rooted out with all his. Rehoboam also, having, as he thought, by [r] fortifying divers places assured his estate, forsook the law of the living God, and made high places, and images, and groves on every high hill, and under every green tree.

And therefore in the fifth year of his reign, Sesac, or Shishac, before spoken of, being now king of Egypt, and with whom as well Adad of Idumæa as Jeroboam were familiar, and his instruments, entered [s] Judæa with twelve thousand chariots and threescore thousand horse, besides footmen, which [t] Josephus numbers at four hundred thousand. This army was compounded of four nations; Egyptians, Lu-

[q] 2 Chron. xi.
[r] 1 Kings xiv. 13.
[s] 2 Chron. xii. 3.
[t] Joseph. Ant. 8. c. 4.

bæans, Succæans, and Cusites. The Lubæans were Lybæans, the next bordering region to Egypt, on the west side. The Cusites were of Petræa, and of the desert Arabia, which afterwards followed Zerah against [u] Asa king of Juda. The Succæans, according to Junius's opinion, were of Succoth, which signifieth tents: he doth suppose that they were the Trogloditæ, mentioned often in [x] Pliny, Ptolemy, and other authors. The Troglodites inhabited not far from the banks of the Red sea, in twenty-two degrees from the line northward, about six hundred English miles from the best and maritimate part of Egypt; and therefore I do not think that the Succims, or Succæi, were those Trogloditæ, but rather those Arabians which Ptolemy calls Arabes Ægyptii, or Ichthyophagi, which possess that part of Egypt between the mountains called [y] Alabastrini and the Red sea, far nearer Egypt, and readier to be levied than those removed savages of the Trogloditæ.

With this great and powerful army Sesac invaded Judæa, and (besides many other strong cities) won Jerusalem itself, of which, and of the temple and king's house he took the spoil, carrying away (besides other treasures) the golden shields which Salomon had made, in imitation of those which David recovered from Adadezer in the Syrian war: these Rehoboam supplied with targets of brass, which were fit enough to guard a king of his quality; whom Siracides calleth *the foolishness of the people*.

From this time forward the kings of Egypt claimed the sovereignty of Judæa, and held the Jews as their tributaries: Sesac, as it seems, rendering up to Rehoboam his places on that condition. So much may be gathered out of the words of God, where promising the deliverance of Juda after their humiliation, he doth notwithstanding leave them under the yoke of Egypt in these words: *Nevertheless they* (to wit, the Judæans) *shall be his servants*, that is, the servants of Sesac.

After this overthrow and dishonour, Rehoboam reigned

[u] 2 Chron. xii. 2. 2 Kings xiv. Annot. in 12. Chron.
[x] Plin. l. 6. c. 29. Ptol. Asiæ, Tab. 3.
[y] Cap. 47. v. 23.

twelve years, and his losses received by Sesac notwithstanding, he continued the war against Jeroboam all his lifetime. After his death Jeroboam governed Israel four years.

Rehoboam lived fifty-eight years, and reigned seventeen. His story was written at large by Shemeiah and Hiddon the prophets, but the same perished with that of Nathan and the rest.

With Rehoboam, Archippus and Tersippus, the third and fourth archontes or governors for life after Codrus, governed in Athens; Abdastrartus, or Abstrartus, in Tyre; Doristhus, the fifth of the Heraclidæ, in Sparta, according to [z] Eusebius, (others make him the sixth;) and Priminas the fourth in Corinth. Over the Latins reigned Sylvius Alba and Sylvius Atys, the fourth and fifth of the Sylvii.

About the twelfth of Rehoboam, Abdastrartus, king of Tyre, was murdered by his nurse's sons, or foster-brethren, the elder of which usurped the kingdom twelve years.

Towards his latter times, Periciades, or Pyrithiades, began to govern Assyria, the 34th king thereof: and not long after, Astartus, the son of Baleastartus, recovered the kingdom of Tyre from the usurpers.

SECT. III.

Of the great battle between Jeroboam and Abijah, with a corollary of the examples of God's judgments.

ABIJAH, the son of Rehoboam, inherited his father's kingdom, and his vices. He raised an army of four hundred thousand, with which he invaded Jeroboam, who encountered him with a double number of eight hundred thousand; both armies joined near to the mount Ephraim, where Jeroboam was utterly overthrown, and the strength of Israel broken; for there fell of that side five hundred thousand, the greatest overthrow that ever was given or received of those nations. Abijah being now master of the field, recovered Bethel, Jeshanah, and Ephron; soon after

[z] Euseb. Chron.

which discomfiture Jeroboam died; who reigned in all twenty-two years. Abijah, the better to strengthen himself, entered into league with Hesion, the third of the Adads of Syria; as may be gathered out of 2 Chron. xvi. 23. He reigned but three years, and then died. The particulars of his acts were written by Iddo the prophet, as some part of his father's were.

Here we see how it pleased God to punish the sins of Salomon in his son Rehoboam; first, by an idolater and a traitor; and then by the successor of that Egyptian, whose daughter Salomon had married, thereby the better to assure his estate, which, while he served God, was by God assured against all and the greatest neighbouring kings, and when he forsook him, it was torn asunder by his meanest vassals: not that the father wanted strength to defend him from the Egyptian Sesac; for the son Abijah was able to levy four hundred thousand men, and with the same number he overthrew eight hundred thousand Israelites, and slew of them five hundred thousand, God giving spirit, courage, and invention, when and where it pleaseth him. And as in those times the causes were expressed, why it pleased God to punish both kings and their people, the same being both before and at the instant delivered by prophets; so the same just God, who liveth and governeth all things for ever, doth in these our times give victory, courage, and discourage, raise and throw down kings, estates, cities, and nations, for the same offences which were committed of old, and are committed in the present: for which reason, in these and other the afflictions of Israel, always the causes are set down, that they might be as precedents to succeeding ages. They were punished with famine in David's time for three years, [a] *for Saul and his bloody house*, &c. And David, towards his latter end, suffered all sorts of afflictions and sorrows in effect, for Uriah. Salomon had ten tribes of twelve torn from his son for his idolatry. Rehoboam was spoiled of his riches and honour by Sesac of Egypt, because the people of Juda made images, high places, and groves, &c. and

[a] 2 Sam. xxi. 1.

cause they suffered Sodomites in the land. Jeroboam was punished in himself and his posterity for the golden calves that he erected. Joram had all his sons slain by the Philistines, and his very bowels torn out of his body by an excoriating flux for murdering his brethren. Ahab and Jezabel were slain, the blood of the one, the body of the other eaten with dogs, for the false accusing and killing of Naboth. So also hath God punished the same and the like sins in all after-times, and in these our days, by the same famine, plagues, war, loss, vexation, death, sickness, and calamities, howsoever the wise men of the world raise these effects no higher than to second causes, and such other accidents; which, as being next their eyes and ears, seem to them to work every alteration that happeneth.

SECT. IV.

Of Asa and his contemporaries.

TO Abijah succeeded Asa, who enjoyed peace for his first ten years, in which time he established the church of God, [b] breaking down the altars dedicated to strange gods, with their images, cutting down their groves, and taking away their high places. He also spared not his own [c] mother, who was an idolatress, but deposing her from her regency, brake her idol, stampt it, and burnt it.

He also fortified many cities and other places, providing (as provident kings do) for the troubles of war in the leisure of peace. For not long after, he was invaded by Zerah, who then commanded all the Arabians bordering Judæa, and with such a multitude entered the territory of Asa, as (for any thing that I have read) were never assembled of that nation either before or since. For it is written, that there came against the Judæans [d] Zerah of Ethiopia, with an host of ten hundred thousand, and three hundred chariots, which Asa encountered with an army of five hundred and fourscore thousand, levied out of those two tribes of Juda and Benjamin which obeyed him, and with which he

[b] 2 Chron. xiv. [c] 2 Chron. xv. 16. [d] 2 Chron. xiv. 9.

overthrew this fearful multitude, and had the spoil both of their cities and camp.

That this Zerah was not an Ethiopian I have [c] proved already, and were it but the length between Ethiopia and Judæa, and the strong flourishing regions of Egypt interjacent, (who would not suffer a million of strangers to pass through them,) it were sufficient to make it appear how foolish the opinion is, that these invaders were Ethiopians. But in that the scriptures acknowledge that Gerar was belonging to Zerah, and the cities thereabouts were spoiled by the Judæans in following their victory, as places belonging to Zerah, and that all men know that Gerar standeth upon the torrent of Besor, which David passed over when he surprised the Amalekites, or Arabians, this proveth sufficiently that Zerah was leader of the Arabians, and that [f] Gerar was a frontier town standing on the uttermost south border of all Judæa, from all parts of Ethiopia six hundred miles. Also the spoils which Asa took, as the cattle, camels, and sheep, whereof he sacrificed five thousand, shew them to be Arabians adjoining, and not far off, and not unknown to the Ethiopians. And if it be objected, that these desert countries can hardly yield a million of men fit for the wars, I answer, that it is as like that Arabia Petræa and the desert, which compass two parts of the Holy Land, should yield ten hundred thousand, as that two tribes of the twelve should arm five hundred and fourscore thousand. Besides, it answereth to the promise of God to Abraham, that these nations should exceed in number; for God spake it of Ismael, that he would make him fruitful, and multiply him exceedingly, that he should beget twelve princes, &c.

[g] Baasha, a king of Israel, began to reign in the third of Asa, and fearing the greatness of Asa after his great victory, entertained Benhadad king of Syria, of the race of Adadezer, to join with him against Asa; and to the end to block him up, he fortified Rama, which lieth in the way from Jerusalem towards Samaria.

[c] In the former book, ch. 4. sect. 14. item, ch. 8. sect. 10. §. 6.

[f] 2 Chron. xiv.

[g] 2 Chron. xvi. 1.

This war began, according to the letter of the scriptures, in the thirty-sixth year of Asa's reign; but because in 1 Kings xvi. it is said that Baasha died in the twenty-sixth year of Asa, therefore could not Baasha begin this war in the thirty-fifth of Asa's reign, but in the thirty-fifth year of the division of Juda and Israel; for so many years it was from the first of Rehoboam, who reigned seventeen years, to the sixteenth of Asa. It may seem strange, that Asa being able to bring into the field an army of five hundred and fourscore thousand good soldiers, did not easily drive away Baasha, and defeat him of his purposes, the victories of Abia against Jeroboam, and of Asa himself against Zerah being yet fresh in mind, which might well have emboldened the men of Juda, and as much disheartened the enemies. Questionless there were some important circumstances omitted in the text, which caused Asa to fight at this time with money. It may be, that the employment of so many hundred thousands of hands in the late service against Zerah, had caused many men's private businesses to lie undespatched, whereby the people, being now intentive to the culture of their lands, and other trades, might be unwilling to stir against the Israelites, choosing rather to wink at apparent inconvenience, which the building of Rama would bring upon them in after-times. Such backwardness of the people might have deterred Asa from adventuring himself with the least part of his forces, and committing the success into the hands of God. Howsoever it were, he took the treasures remaining in the temple, with which he waged Benhadad the Syrian against Baasha, whose employments Benhadad readily accepted, and brake off confederacy with Baasha. For the Israelites were his borderers and next neighbours, whom neither himself (after his invasion) nor his successors after him ever gave over till they had made themselves masters of that kingdom. So [h] Benhadad being now entered into Nephthalim without resistance, he spoiled divers principal cities thereof, and enforced [i] Baasha to quit Ramah, and to leave the same to Asa with all the materials

[h] 2 Chron. xvi. 4. [i] 1 Kings xv.

which he had brought thither to fortify the same; which done, Benhadad, who loved neither party, being loaden with the spoils of Israel and the treasures of Juda, returned to Damascus. After this, when Hanani the prophet reprehended Asa in that he now relied on the strength of Syria, and did not rest himself on the favour and assistance of God, he not only caused Hanani to be imprisoned, but he began to burden and oppress his people, and was therefore stricken with the grievous pains of the gout in his feet, wherewith after he had been two years [k] continually tormented, he gave up the ghost when he had reigned forty-one years.

There lived with Asa, Agesilaus the sixth of the Heraclidæ, and Bacis the fifth king of the same race in Corinth, of whom his successors were afterwards called Bacidæ. Astartus and Astarimus were kings in Tyre. [l] Astarimus took revenge on his brother Phelletes, for the murder of Ithobalus, priest of the goddess Astarta, whom Salomon in dotage worshipped. Atys and Capys ruled the Latins: Pyrithiades and Ophrateus the Assyrians: Tersippus and Phorbas the Athenians: Chemmis reigned in Egypt; who dying in the thirty-sixth year of Asa, left Cheops his successor that reigned fifty-six years, even to the sixteenth of Joas.

SECT. V.

Of the great alteration falling out in the ten tribes during the reign of Asa.

IN the reign of Asa the kingdom of Israel felt great and violent commotions, which might have reduced the ten tribes unto their former allegiance to the house of David, if the wisdom of God had not otherwise determined. The wickedness of Jeroboam had, in his latter days, the sentence of heavy vengeance laid upon it by the mouth of Ahia, the same prophet which had foretold the division of Israel, for the sin of Salomon, and his reign over the ten tribes. One son Jeroboam had, among others, in whom only God found so much piety, as (though it sufficed not to withhold his

[k] 2 Chron. xvi. [l] Euseb. in Chron.

wrath from that family) it procured unto him a peaceable end; an honourable testimony of the people's love, by their general mourning and lamentation at his death, and (wherein he was most happy) the favourable approbation of God himself.

After the loss of this good son, the ungodly father was soon taken away: a miserable creature, so conscious of his vile unthankfulness to God, that he durst not suffer his own name to be used in consulting with an holy prophet, assured of the ruin hanging over him and his, yea, of God's extreme hatred; yet forbearing to destroy those accursed idols that wrought his confusion. So loath he was to forsake his worldly wisdom, when the world was ready to forsake him and all belonging to him, his hateful memory excepted.

Nadab, the son of Jeroboam, reigned in the second and third years of Asa, which are reckoned as two years, though indeed his father's last year of two and twenty did run along (how far is uncertain) with the second of [m] Asa, whose third year was the first of Baasha; so that perhaps this Nadab enjoyed not his kingdom one whole year. He did not alter his father's courses, neither did God alter his sentence. It seems that he little feared the judgments denounced against his father's house; for as a prince that was secure of his own estate, he armed all Israel against the Philistines, and besieged one of their towns. There (whether it were so, that the people were offended with his ill success, and recalled to mind their grievous loss of five hundred thousand under Jeroboam, counting it an unlucky family to the nation; or whether by some particular indiscretion he exasperated them) slain he was by Baasha, whom the army did willingly accept for king in his stead. Baasha was no sooner proclaimed king, than he began to take order with the house of Jeroboam, that none of them might molest him, putting all of them, without mercy, to the sword. That he did this for private respects, and not in regard of God's will to have it so, it is evident, by his continuing in the same form of idolatry which Jeroboam had begun.

[m] 1 Kings xv. 25.

Wherefore he received the same sentence from God that had been laid upon Jeroboam, which was executed upon him also in the same sort. He began to infest Asa, by fortifying Rama; but was diverted from thence by the Syrian Benhadad, who did waste his country, destroying all the land of Nephthalim. Four and twenty years he reigned; and then dying, left the crown to Elah his son, who enjoyed it, as Nadab the son of Jeroboam had done, two years current, perhaps not one complete.

Elah was as much an idolater as his father, and withal a riotous person. He sent an army against Gibbethon, the same town of the Philistines before which Nadab the son of Jeroboam perished; but he sat at home the whilst, feasting and drinking with his minions, whereby he gave such advantage against himself as was not neglected. Zimri, an ambitious man, remaining with the king at Tirzah, finding his master so dissolute, and his behaviour so contemptible, conceived hope of the like fortune as Baasha had found, by doing as Baasha had done: wherefore he did set upon Elah in his drunkenness, and slew him. Presently upon which fact, he styled himself king of Israel, and began his reign with massacreing all the house of Baasha; extending his cruelty not only to his children and kinsfolk, but unto all his friends in Tirzah. These news were quickly blown to the camp at Gibbethon, where they were not welcomed according to Zimri's expectation. For the soldiers, instead of proclaiming him king, proclaimed him traitor: and being led by Omri, whom they saluted king, they (quitting the siege of Gibbethon) presented themselves before Tirzah, which in short space they may seem to have forced. Zimri wanting strength to defend the city, not courage to keep himself from falling alive into his enemies' hands, did set fire on the palace, consuming it and himself together to ashes. Seven days he is said to have reigned; accounting (as is most likely) to the time that Omri was proclaimed in the camp. For Zimri was also an idolater, *walking in the way of Jeroboam*, 1 Kings xvi. 19, and therefore is likely to have had more time wherein to declare himself than the reign of

seven days, and those consumed partly in murdering the friends of Baasha, partly in seeking to have defended his own life. After the death of Elah, there arose another king to oppose the faction of Omri; whereby it may seem that Zimri had made his party strong, as being able to set up a new head, who doubtless would never have appeared, if there had not been ready to his hand some strength, not unlikely to resist and vanquish the army which maintained Omri. How long this Tibni, the new competitor of Omri, held out, I do not find; only it appears that his side was decayed, and so he died, leaving no other successor than his concurrent.

SECT. VI.

A conjecture of the causes hindering the reunion of Israel with Juda, which might have been effected by these troubles.

ANY man that shall consider the state of Israel in those times, may justly wonder how it came to pass, that either the whole nation, wearied with the calamities already suffered under these unfortunate princes, and with the present civil wars, did not return to their ancient kings, and reunite themselves with the mighty tribes of Juda and Benjamin; or that Zimri and Tibni, with their oppressed factions, did not call in Asa, but rather chose, the one to endure a desperate necessity of yielding, or burning himself, the other to languish away, a man forsaken; than to have recourse unto a remedy so sure, so ready, and so honourable. To say that God was pleased to have it so, were a true, but an idle answer, (for his secret will is the cause of all things,) unless it could be proved, that he had forbidden Asa to deal in that business, as he forbade Rehoboam to force the rebellious people to obedience. That the restraint laid by God upon Rehoboam did only bind his hands from attempting the suppression of that present insurrection, it appears by the war continued between Israel and Juda so many years following; wherein Abia so far prevailed, that he won a great battle, and recovered some towns belonging to the other tribes, which he annexed to his own dominion.

Wherefore we may boldly look into the second causes, moving the people and leaders of the ten tribes to suffer any thing under new upstarts, rather than to cast their eyes upon that royal house of David, from which the succession of five kings in lineal descent had taken away all imputation that might formerly have been laid upon the mean beginnings thereof. To think that Omri had prevented his competitors, in making peace with Asa, were a conjecture more bold than probable. For Omri was not only an idolater, [n] *but did worse than all that were before him*; which, as it might serve alone to prove that Asa, being a godly king, would not adhere to him, so the course which he professed to take at the very first, of revenging the massacre committed upon the family and friends of Baasha, (Asa his mortal enemy,) gives manifest reason why Zimri, who had wrought that great execution, should more justly than he have expected the friendship of Juda in that quarrel. Wherefore, in searching out the reason of this backwardness in the ten tribes (which was such that they may seem to have never thought upon the matter) to submit themselves to their true princes, it were not amiss to examine the causes, moving the people to revenge the death of Elah, an idle drunkard, rather than of Nadab the son of Jeroboam, who followed the wars in person, as a man of spirit and courage. Surely it is apparent, that the very first defection of the ten tribes was (if we look upon human reason) occasioned by desire of breaking that heavy yoke of bondage wherewith Salomon had galled their necks. Their desire was to have a king that should not oppress them, not to have no king at all. And therefore when the arrogant folly of Rehoboam had caused them to renounce him, they did immediately choose Jeroboam in his stead, as a man likely to afford that liberty unto them, for which he had contended in their behalf. Neither were they, as it seems, herein altogether deceived: for his affection of popularity appears in his building of decayed towns, and in the insti-

[n] 1 Kings xvi. 25.

tution of his new devised idolatry; where he told the people, that it was too much for them to travel so far as Jerusalem. But whether it were so that his moderation, being voluntary, began to cease towards the latter end of his reign, and in the reign of his son, when long time of possession had confirmed his title, which at the first was only good by courtesy of the people; or whether the people (as often happens in such cases) were more offended by some prerogatives of a king that he still retained in his own hands, than pleased with his remission of other burdens; it is clearly apparent, that the whole army of all Israel joined with Baasha, taking in good part the death of Nadab and eradication of Jeroboam's house.

Now the reign of Baasha himself was (for ought that remaineth in writing of it) every way unfortunate; his labour and cost at Rama was cast away; the other side of his kingdom harried by the Syrians; neither did he win that one town of Gibbethon from the Philistines, but left that business to his son, who likewise appears an unprofitable sluggard. Wherefore it must needs be, that the favour of the people towards the house of Baasha grew from his good form of civil government, which happily he reduced to a more temperate method than Jeroboam ever meant to do. And surely he that shall take pains to look into those examples which are extant of the different courses held by the kings of Israel and Juda, in administration of justice, will find it most probable, that upon this ground it was that the ten tribes continued so averse from the line of David, as to think all adversity more tolerable than the weighty sceptre of that house. For the death of Joab and Shimei was indeed by them deserved; yet in that they suffered it without form of judgment, they suffered like unto men innocent. The death of Adonijah was both without judgment and without any crime objected, other than the king's jealousy; out of which, by the same rule of arbitrary justice, (under which it may be supposed that many were cast away,) he would have slain Jeroboam (if he could have caught him)

before he had yet committed any offence, as appears by his confident return out of Egypt, like one that was known to have endured wrong, having not offered any.

The like and much more barbarous execution, to wit, without law, Jehoram did upon his brethren, and upon sundry of his greatest men; as also Joash did so put to death Zachariah, the son of Jehoiada, who had made him king, [o] *even in the court of the house of the Lord:* [p] *and Manasses did shed innocent blood exceeding much, till he replenished Jerusalem from corner to corner:* and this was imputed to him as another fault, *besides his sin wherewith he made Juda to sin.* Contrariwise, among the kings of Israel we find no monument of such arbitrary proceeding, unless perhaps the words of Jehoram the son of Ahab (which were but words) may be taken for an instance, when he said, [q] *God do so to me, and more also, if the head of Elisha the son of Shaphat shall stand on him this day:* whereby it is not plain whether he meant to kill him without more ado, or to have him condemned as a false prophet, that had made them hold out against the Aramites, till they were fain to eat their own children; which he thought a sufficient argument to prove, that it was not God's purpose to deliver them. The death of Naboth sheweth rather the liberty which the Israelites enjoyed, than any peremptory execution of the king's will. For Naboth did not fear to stand upon his own right, though Ahab were even sick for anger, neither was he for that cause put to death, as upon commandment, but made away by conspiracy, the matter being handled after a judicial form, which might give satisfaction to the people, ignorant of the device, though to God it could not.

The murder of the prophets is continually ascribed to Jezabel, an impotent woman, and not unto the king her husband. Neither is it certain that there was no law made, whereby their lives were taken from them; but certain it is, that the people, being [r] idolaters, were both pleased with

[o] 2 Chron. xxiv. 21.
[p] 2 Kings xxi. 16.
[q] 2 Kings vi. 31.
[r] 2 Kings xix. 10.

their death, and laboured in the execution. So that the doings of the kings of Juda (such as are registered) prove them to have used a more absolute manner of command than the kings of the ten tribes. Neither do their sufferings witness the contrary: for of those which reigned over Juda, from the division of the kingdom to the captivity of the ten tribes, three were slain by the people, and two were denied a place of burial amongst their ancestors. Yea, the death of Ahaziah and his brethren, slain by Jehu, with the destruction of all the royal seed by Athalia, did not (for ought that we can read) stir up in the people any such thirst of revenge, as might by the suddenness and uniformity testify the affection to be general, and proceeding from a loving remembrance of their princes; unless we should think that the death of Athalia, after seven years reign, were occasioned rather by the memory of her ill purchasing, than by the present sense of her tyrannical abusing the government whereon she had seized. On the other side, such of the kings of Israel as perished by treason, (which were seven of the twenty,) were all slain by conspiracy of the great men, who aspired by treason to the crown; the people being so far from embruing their hands in the blood of their sovereigns, that (after Nadab) they did never forbear to revenge the death of their kings, when it lay in their power, nor approve the good success of treason, unless fear compelled them. So that the death of two kings being throughly revenged upon other two, namely, the death of Elah and Zacharia, upon Zimri and Shallum, who traitorously got and usurped for a little while their places; only three of the seven remain, whose ends how the people took, it may be doubtful. Though indeed it is precisely said of the slaughter, committed on Ahab's children by Jehu, that the people durst not fight with him that did it, because [s] *they were exceedingly afraid:* and the same fear might be in them at the death of Peka, whose history (as others of that time) is cursorily passed over. The like may be pronounced, and more absolutely, of the kings of England, that never

[s] 2 Kings x. 4.

any of them perished by fury of the people, but by treason of such as did succeed them; neither was there any motive urging so forcibly the death of king Edward and king Richard, when they were in prison, as fear lest the people should stir in their quarrel. And certainly (howsoever all that the law calls treason, be interpreted as tending finally to the king's destruction) in those treasonable insurrections of the vulgar, which have here most prevailed, the fury of the multitude hath quenched itself with the blood of some great officers; no such rebellions, howsoever wicked and barbarous otherwise, thirsting after the ruin of their natural sovereign, but rather forbearing the advantages gotten upon his royal person; which if any man impute unto gross ignorance, another may more charitably, and, I think, more truly, ascribe to a reverent affection. Wherefore that fable of Briareus, who, being loosened by Pallas, did with his hundred hands give assistance to Jupiter, when all the rest of the gods conspired against him, is very fitly expounded by sir Francis Bacon, as signifying, that monarchs need not to fear any curbing of their absoluteness by mighty subjects, as long as by wisdom they keep the hearts of the people, who will be sure to come in on their side. Though indeed the story might very well have borne the same interpretation as it is rehearsed by Homer, who tells us, that Pallas was one of the conspiracy, and that Thetis alone did mar all their practice by loosening Briareus. For a good form of government sufficeth by itself to retain the people, not only without assistance of a laborious wit, but even against all devices of the greatest and shrewdest politicians; every sheriff and constable being sooner able to arm the multitude in the king's behalf, than any overweening rebel, how mighty soever, can against him.

This declaration of the people's love being seldom found in Juda, makes it very likely that the rule itself of government there was such, as neither gave occasion of contentment unto the subjects, nor of confidence in their good affection to the kings. Upon which reasons it may seem that the multitude was kept usually disarmed; for other-

wise it would have been almost impossible, that Athalia, the sister of Ahab, a stranger to the royal blood of Juda, should by the only authority of a queen-mother have destroyed all the seed of David, and usurped the kingdom very near seven years, without finding any resistance. Yea, when Jehoiada the high priest had agreed with the captains and principal men of the land to set up Joash their lawful king, whereunto the whole nation were generally well affected, he was fain to give to these captains and their men *the spears and the shields that were king David's, and were in the house of the Lord.* But we need not enter into such particulars. Questionless, the tribes which thought obedience to their princes to be a part of their duty towards God, would endure much more with patience, than they which had kings of their own choice or admission, holding the crown by a more uncertain tenure.

And this, in my opinion, was the reason, why the ten tribes did never seek to return to their ancient lords; but after the destruction of their six first kings, which died in the reign of Asa, admitted a seventh of a new family, rather than they would consubject themselves, with those of Juda and Benjamin, under a more honourable, but more heavy yoke.

So Asa, having seen the death of seven kings of Israel, died himself after forty-one years reign, leaving Jehoshaphat his son to deal with Ahab the son of Omri, who was the eighth king over the ten tribes.

SECT. VII.

Of Jehoshaphat and his contemporaries.

JEHOSHAPHAT, who succeeded Asa, was a prince religious and happy: he destroyed all the groves, altars, and high places dedicated to idolatry, and sent teachers to all places and people wanting instruction: he recovered the tribute due unto him by the Arabians and Philistines; from the one he had silver, from the other sheep and goats to the number of fifteen thousand and four hundred. The numbers of his men of war were more than admirable: for it is

written that [t]Adnah had the command of three hundred thousand, Jehohanan of two hundred and fourscore thousand, and Amasia of two hundred thousand; also that he had, besides these, in Benjamin, of those that bare shields, which we call targeteers, and of archers under Eliada, two hundred thousand, and under the commandment of Jehozabad a hundred and fourscore thousand; which numbered together make eleven hundred and sixty thousand; all which are said to have waited upon the king, besides his garrisons.

That Juda and Benjamin, a territory not much exceeding the county of Kent, should muster eleven hundred and sixty thousand fighting men, it is very strange, and the number far greater than it was found upon any other view. [u]Joab in David's time found five hundred thousand; Rehoboam found but an hundred and fourscore thousand; Abia four hundred and eight thousand; Asa five hundred and fourscore thousand: Amasiah enrolled all that could bear arms, and they amounted to three hundred thousand; Uzziah, three hundred and seven thousand and five hundred. Surely, whereas it is written, that when news was brought to Jehoshaphat, that Moab and Ammon were entered his territory to the west of Jordan, and that their numbers were many, he feared (to wit) the multitude, it is not likely that he would have feared even the army of Xerxes, if he could have brought into the field eleven hundred and threescore thousand fighting men, leaving all his strong cities manned. I am therefore of opinion, (referring myself to better judgment,) that these numbers specified in the second of Chronicles the seventeenth, distributed to several leaders, were not all at one time, but that the three hundred thousand under Adnah, and the two hundred and fourscore thousand under Jehohanan were afterwards commanded and mustered by Amasiah, Eliada, and Jehozabad; for the gross and total is not in that place set down, as it was under the other kings formerly named. Again, as the aids which Jehoshaphat brought to Ahab did not shew that he was a prince of extraordinary power, so the Moabites

[t] 2 Chron. xvii. [u] 2 Sam. xxiv. 4.

and Ammonites, which he feared, could never make the one half of those numbers which he that commanded least among Jehoshaphat's leaders had under him.

This mighty prince, notwithstanding his greatness, yet he joined in friendship with Ahab king of Israel, who had married that wicked woman Jezabel. Him Jehoshaphat visited at Samaria, and caused his son Joram to marry Athaliah, this Ahab's daughter.

Ahab persuaded Jehoshaphat to assist him in the war against the Syrians, who held the city of Ramoth-Gilead from him, and called together four hundred of his prophets, or Baalites, to foretell the success, who promised him victory. But Jehoshaphat believed nothing at all in those diviners, but resolved first of all to confer with some one prophet of the Lord God of Israel. Hereupon Ahab made answer, that he had one called Michaiah, but he hated that prophet, because he always foretold of evil, and never of any good towards him. Yet sent for Michaiah was to the king, but by the way the messenger prayed him to consent with the rest of the prophets, and to promise victory unto them, as they did. But Michaiah spake the truth, and repeated his vision to both kings, which was, *That God asked who shall persuade Ahab, that he may go up and fall at Ramoth-Gilead?* To whom a spirit that stood before the Lord answered, that he would enter into his prophets, and be in them a false spirit to delude. For as it is said by Christ, *Non enim vos estis qui loquimini, sed Spiritus Patris vestri loquitur in vobis;* "It is not you that speak, but the Spirit "of your Father speaks in you:" so in a contrary kind did the Devil in the prophets of Baal, or Satan, encourage Ahab to his destruction. And as P. Martyr upon this place well observeth, these evil spirits are the ministers of God's vengeance, and are used as the hangmen and tormentors which princes sometimes employ. For as it pleaseth God by his good angels to save and deliver from destruction, of which the scriptures have many examples; so on the contrary, it is by the evil that he punisheth and destroyeth, both which are said to perform the will of their Creator, *licet*

non eodem animo. Ecclesiasticus remembereth a second sort of malignant natures, but they are every where visible. There are spirits, saith he, created for vengeance, which in their rigour lay on sure strokes. In the time of destruction they shew forth their power, and accomplish the wrath of him that made them.

Now Michaiah having by this his revelation greatly displeased the king, and the prophets whose spirit he discovered, was stricken by Zedekiah, one of Baal's prophets, and by Ahab himself committed to prison; where he appointed him to be reserved and fed with bread of affliction till he returned in peace. But Michaiah, not fearing to reply, answered, *If thou return in peace, the Lord hath not spoken by me:* nevertheless, Ahab went on in that war, and was wounded to death. Jehoshaphat returned to Jerusalem, where he was [x] reprehended by Jehu the prophet for assisting an idolatrous prince, and one that hated God.

After this, the Aramites of Damascens joined with the Moabites, Ammonites, and Idumæans, to invade Judæa; who pass Jordan, and encamp at Engaddi: and when Jehoshaphat gathered his army, the prophet Jahaziel foretold him of the victory, which should be obtained without any bloodshed of his part: and so when Jehoshaphat approached this assembly of nations, the Ammonites and Moabites disagreeing with the Idumæans, and quarrelling for some causes among themselves, those of Ammon and Moab set upon the Idumæans, and brake them utterly; which done, they also invaded each other; in which broil Jehoshaphat arriving, [y] took the spoil of them all without any loss of his part, as it was foretold and promised by God. Notwithstanding this victory, Jehoshaphat, forgetting that he was formerly reprehended for assisting an idolatrous king, did notwithstanding join with Ochazias, the son of Ahab, in preparing a fleet to send to Ophir, hoping of the like return which Salomon had: but as [z] Eliezer the prophet foretold him, his ships perished and were broken in the port of Ezion-gaber, and so that enterprise was overthrown.

[x] 2 Chron. xix. [y] 2 Chron. xx. [z] Ibid.

Yet he taketh part with Jehoram, the brother of Ochazias, against the Moabites, with which kings of Juda and Israel the Edomites join their forces, not forgetting, it seems, that the Moabites, assisted by the Ammonites, had not long before destroyed their army.

The Moabites, subjects to David and Salomon, forsaking the kings of Juda, gave themselves for vassals to Jeroboam, and so they continued to his successors till the death of Ahab: but Jehoshaphat, notwithstanding the idolatry of his colleague, yet, as it seemeth, he was drawn into this war both to be avenged of the Moabites for their defection from Juda to Israel, as also because they had lately joined themselves with the Syrians against Jehoshaphat; and thirdly, to punish their double rebellion, who first forsook Juda and now Israel.

Both kings resolved to pass by the way of Idumæa, thereby the better to assure that nation; for we find that both Moab, Ammon, and Edom were all in the field together at Engaddi against Jehoshapat; but whether they had then declared themselves against Jehoshaphat, it is not certain: for in 2 Chron. xxi. 8. it is written, that *in the time of Jehoram, the son of Jehoshaphat, Edom rebelled;* and therefore it seemeth to me that the Edomites, when they were slain by Moab and Ammon, not finding themselves satisfied in such conditions as they required, offered to turn from them, and to join themselves with the army of Juda: for that they were numbered among the enemies of Jehoshaphat, it is plain in 2 Chron. xx. and as plain chap. ii. 8. that they were not declared, nor had made them a king, till Jehoshaphat's death. Now in the passage of these kings towards Moab, whether it were by the extraordinary heat of the year, or whether the Idumæans, having a purpose to rebel, misled the army of Juda and Israel with intent to enfeeble them for want of water; true it is, that they suffered the same, if not a greater thirst than the armies of Crassus and M. Antonius did in their Parthian expeditions; and had, in all likelihood, utterly perished, had not Elisha taught them to cut trenches whereinto the water sprang, by which, not

only Jehoshaphat and his army, but Jehoram king of Israel, an idolater, was relieved: the great mercy and goodness of God having ever been prone to save the evil for the good, whereas he never destroyed the good for the evil.

The miserable issue of this war, and how [a] Moab burnt his son, or the son of the king of Edom, for sacrifice on the rampire of his own city, I have already written in the life of Jehoram among the kings of Israel. [b] Jehoshaphat reigned twenty-five years, and died: he was buried in the valley of Jehoshaphat; and a part of the pyramis set over his grave is yet to be seen, saith [c] Brochard. His acts are written at large by Jehu the son of Hanani.

There lived with Jehoshaphat, Ophratenes in Assyria, Capetus and Tiberinus, kings of the Albans, in Italy: of the latter the river Tiber (formerly Albula) took name.

In Jehoshaphat's time also ruled Mecades, or Mezades, in Athens; Agelas, or Agesilaus, in Corinth; and Archilaus, of the same race, of the Heraclidæ the seventh in Lacedæmon. Badesorus ruled the Tyrians; Ahab, Ochazias, and Jehoram, the Israelites.

CHAP. XX.

Of Jehoram the son of Jehoshaphat, and Ahaziah.

SECT. I.

That Jehoram was made king sundry times.

JEHORAM, the son of Jehoshaphat, king of Juda, began to reign at thirty-two years of age, and lived until he was forty years old, being eight years a king: but of these eight years, which Jehoram is said to have reigned, four are to be reckoned in the life of his father, who going to the Syrian war with Ahab, left this Jehoram king in his stead, as Ahab did his son Ahaziah. This appears by the several beginnings which are given in scripture to the two Jehorams, kings of Israel and Juda, and to Ahaziah, the

[a] 2 Kings iii. [b] 2 Chron. xx. [c] Broch. ter. sanct.

eldest son of Ahab; for [d] Ahaziah is said to have begun his reign in the seventeenth year of Jehoshaphat. Jehoram the brother of [e] Ahaziah succeeded him in the second year of Jehoram the son of Jehoshaphat king of Juda, that is, in the next year after that Jehoram of Juda was designed king by his father; it being (as we find elsewhere) the [f] eighteenth year of Jehoshaphat himself, who went with the Israelite against Moab. Hereby it appears that the full power and execution of the royal office was retained still by Jehoshaphat, who governed absolutely by himself, not communicating the rule with his son. But in the fifth year of [g] Jehoram king of Israel, which was the two and twentieth of Jehoshaphat, the old king took unto him, as partner in the government, this his eldest son, who was at that time thirty-two years old, his father being fifty-seven. Now forasmuch as Jehoshaphat reigned [h] twenty-five years, it is evident that his son did not reign alone till the eighth of Joram king of Israel. The like regard is to be had in accounting the times of other kings of Juda and Israel, who did not always reign precisely so long as the bare letter of the text may seem at first to affirm; but their years were sometimes complete, sometimes only current, sometimes confounded with the years of their successors or foregoers, and must therefore be found by comparing their times with the years of those others, with whom they did begin and end.

It were perhaps a thing less needful than curious, to inquire into the reasons moving Jehoshaphat either to assume unto him his son as partner in the kingdom, whilst he was able himself to command both in peace and in war, the like having never been done by any of his progenitors, or having once (in the seventeenth of his reign) vouchsafed unto him that honour, to resume it unto himself, or at leastwise to defer the confirmation of it, until four or five years were passed. Yet forasmuch as to enter into the examination of these passages may be a mean to find some light whereby

[d] 1 Kings xxii. 51.
[e] 2 Kings i. 17. 2 Kings iii. 1. 9.
[g] 2 Kings viii. 16.
[h] 1 Kings xxii. 42.

we may more clearly discover the causes of much extraordinary business ensuing, I hold it not amiss to make such conjecture, as the circumstances of the story, briefly handled in the scriptures, may seem to approve.

We are therefore to consider, that this king Jehoshaphat was the first of Rehoboam's issue that ever entered into any strait league with the kings of the ten tribes. All that reigned in Juda before him had with much labour and long war tired themselves in vain, making small profit of the greatest advantages that could be wished. Wherefore Jehoshaphat thought it the wisest way to make a league offensive and defensive between Israel and Juda, whereby each might enjoy their own in quiet.

This confederacy, made by a religious king with one that did [i] *hate the Lord*, could not long prosper, as not issuing from the true *root and fountain of all wisdom;* yet as a piece of sound policy, doubtless it wanted not fair pretences of much common good thereby likely to arise, with mutual fortification of both those kingdoms against the uncircumcised nations, their ancient enemies. This apparent benefit being so inestimable a jewel, that it might not easily be lost, but continue as hereditary from father to son, it was thought a very good course to have it confirmed by some sure bond of affinity, and thereupon was Athaliah, the daughter of Omri, and sister of Ahab king of Israel, given in marriage to Jehoram, who was son and heir apparent to the king of Juda. This lady was of a masculine spirit, and learned so much of queen Jezabel, her brother's wife, that she durst undertake, and could thoroughly perform, a great deal more in Jerusalem than the other knew how to compass in Samaria. She was indeed a firebrand, ordained by God to consume a great part of the noblest houses in Juda, and perhaps of those men or their children, whose worldly wisdom, regardless of God's pleasure, had brought her in.

The first-fruits of this great league was the Syrian war at Ramoth-Gilead, wherein Juda and Israel did adventure equally, but the profit of the victory should have redounded

[i] 2 Chron. xix. 2, 3.

wholly to Ahab: as godly princes very seldom thrive by matching with idolaters, but rather serve the turns of those false friends, who being ill affected to God himself, cannot be well affected to his servants. Before their setting forth, Ahab designed as king his son Ahaziah; not so much perhaps in regard of the uncertain events of war, (for none of his predecessors had ever done the like upon the like occasions,) nor as fearing the threatenings of the prophet Michaiah, (for he despised them,) as inviting Jehoshaphat by his own example to take the same course, wherein he prevailed.

SECT. II.

Probable conjectures of the motives inducing the old king Jehoshaphat to change his purpose often, in making his son Jehoram king.

MANY arguments do very strongly prove Jehoram to have been wholly overruled by his wife; especially for his forsaking the religion of his godly ancestors, and following the abominable superstitions of the house of Ahab.

That she was a woman of intolerable pride, and abhorring to live a private life, the whole course of her actions witnesseth at large. Much vain matter she was able to produce, whereby to make her husband think that his brethren and kindred were but mean and unworthy persons in comparison of him and of his children, which were begotten upon the daughter and sister of two great kings, not upon base women and mere subjects. The court of Ahab, and his famous victories obtained against the Syrian Benhadad, were matter sufficient to make an insolent man think highly of himself, as being allied so honourably; who could otherwise have found in his heart well enough to despise all his brethren, as being the eldest and heir apparent to the crown, whereof already he had, in a manner, the possession.

How soon his vices brake out, or how long he dissembled them and his idolatrous religion, it cannot certainly be known. Like enough it is, that some smoke, out of the hidden fire, did very soon make his father's eyes to water; who thereupon caused the young man to know himself better, by

making him fall back into rank among his younger brethren. And surely the doings of Jehoshaphat, about the same time, argue no small distemper of the whole country, through the misgovernment of his ungodly son. For the good old king was fain to make his progress round about the land, reclaiming the people unto the service of God, and appointing judges [k] *throughout all the strong cities of Juda, city by city*. This had been a needless labour, if the religion taught and strongly maintained by Asa and by himself had not suffered alteration, and the course of justice been perverted by the power of such as had borne authority. But the necessity that then was of reformation, appears by the charge which the king did give to the judges; and by his commission given to one of the priests in spiritual causes, and to the steward of his house in temporal matters, to be general overseers.

This was not till after the death of Ahaziah the son of Ahab; but how long after, it is uncertain. For Jehoram, the brother of Ahaziah, began his reign (as hath been already noted) in the eighteenth of Jehoshaphat, which was then accounted the second of Jehoram, Jehoshaphat's son, though afterwards this Jehoram of Juda had another first and second year even in his father's time, before he reigned alone, as the best chronologers and expositors of the holy text agree. So he continued in private estate until the two and twentieth of his father's reign, at which time, though the occasions inducing his restitution to former dignity are not set down, yet we may not think that motives thereto appearing substantial were wanting. Jehoram of Israel held the same correspondency with Jehoshaphat that his father had done, and made use of it. He drew the Judæan into the war of Moab, at which time it might well be, that the young prince of Juda was again ordained king by his father, as in the Syrian expedition he had been. Or if we ought rather to think, that the preparations for the enterprise against Moab did not occupy so much time as from the eighteenth of Jehoshaphat, in which year that nation re-

[k] 2 Chron. xix. 4, 5, &c.

belled against Israel, unto his two and twentieth; yet the daily negotiations between the two kings of Juda and Israel, and the affinity between them contracted in the person of Jehoram, might offer some good occasions thereunto. Neither is it certain how the behaviour of the younger sons, in their elder brother's disgrace, might cause their father to put him in possession, for fear of tumult after his death; or the deep dissimulation of Jehoram himself might win the good opinion both of his father and brethren; it being a thing usual in mischievous fell natures, to be as abject and servile in time of adversity, as insolent and bloody upon advantage. This is manifest, that being repossessed of his former estate, he demeaned himself in such wise towards his brethren, as caused their father to enable them, not only with store [1] *of silver, and of gold, and of precious things*, (which kind of liberality other kings doubtless had used unto their younger sons,) but with the custody of *strong cities in Juda*, to assure them, if it might have been, by unwonted means against unwonted perils.

SECT. III.

The doings of Jehoram when he reigned alone; and the rebellion of Edom and Libna.

BUT all this providence availed nothing; for an higher Providence had otherwise determined of the sequel. When once the good old man their father was dead, the younger sons of Jehoshaphat found strong cities a weak defence against the power of him to whom the citizens were obedient. If they came in upon the summons of the king their brother, then had he them without more ado; if they stood upon their guard, then were they traitors, and so unable to hold out against him, who, besides his own power, was able to bring the forces of the Israelitish kingdom against them; so that the apparent likelihood of their final overthrow sufficed to make all forsake them in the very beginning. Howsoever it was, they were all taken and slain, and with them for company many great men of the land; such

[1] 2 Chron. xxi. 3.

belike as either had taken their part, when the tyrant sought their lives, or had been appointed rulers of the country when Jehoram was deposed from his government; in which office they, without forbearing to do justice, could hardly avoid the doing of many things derogatory to their young master, which if he would now call treason, saying that he was then king, who durst say the contrary?

After this, Jehoram took upon him, as being now lord alone, to make innovations in religion; wherein he was not contented, as other idolatrous princes, to give way and safe conduct unto superstition and idolatry, nor to provoke and encourage the people to that sin, whereto it is wonderful that they were so much addicted, having such knowledge of God, and of his detesting that above all other sins; but he used compulsion, and was (if not the very first) the first that is registered to have set up irreligion by force.

Whilst he was thus busied at home in doing what he listed, the Edomites his tributaries rebelled against him abroad; and having hitherto, since David's time, been governed by a viceroy, did now make unto themselves a king. Against these Jehoram in person made an expedition, taking along with him his princes, and all his chariots, with which he obtained victory in the field, compelling the rebels to fly into their places of advantage, whereof he forced no one, but went away contented with the honour that he had gotten in beating and killing some of those whom he should have subdued, and kept his servants. Now began the prophecy of Isaac to take effect, wherein he foretold, that Esau in process of time should break the yoke of Jacob. For after this, the Edomites could never be reclaimed by any of the kings of Juda, but held their own so well, that when, after many civil and foreign wars, the Jews by sundry nations had been brought low; Antipater the Edomite, with Herod his son, and others of that race following them, became lords of the Jews in the decrepit age of Israel, and reigned as kings even in Jerusalem itself.

The freedom of the Edomites, though purchased somewhat dearly, encouraged Libna, a great city within Juda,

which in the time of Joshua had a peculiar king, to rebel against Jehoram, and set itself at liberty. Libna stood in the confines of Benjamin and of Dan, far from the assistance of any bordering enemies to Juda, and therefore so unlikely it was to have maintained itself in liberty, that it may seem strange how it could escape from utter destruction, or at the least from some terrible vengeance, most likely to have been taken by their powerful, cruel, and throughly incensed lord. The Israelite held such good intelligence at that time with Juda, that he would not have accepted the town, had it offered itself unto him: neither do we read that it sought how to cast itself into a new subjection, but continued a free estate. The rebellion of it against Jehoram was [m] *because he had forsaken the Lord God of his fathers;* which I take to have not only been the first and remote cause, but even the next and immediate reason, moving the inhabitants to do as they did; for it was a town of the Levites, who must needs be driven into great extremities, when a religion contrary to God's law had not only some allowance to countenance it by the king, but compulsive authority to force unto it all that were unwilling. As for the use of the temple at Jerusalem, (which, being devout men, they might fear to lose by this rebellion,) it was never denied to those of the ten revolted tribes by any of the religious kings, who rather invited the [n] Israelites thither, and gave them kind entertainment: under idolaters they must have been without it, whether they lived free or in subjection. Yet it seems that private reasons were not wanting, which might move them rather to do than to suffer that which was unwarrantable. For in the general visitation before remembered, wherein Jehoshaphat reformed his kingdom, the good old king appointing new governors, and giving them especial charge to do justice without respect of persons, used these words; *The Levites shall be officers before you; be of good courage and do it, and the Lord shall be with the good.* By these phrases, it seems, that he encouraged them against the more powerful than just pro-

[m] 2 Chron. xxi. 10. [n] 2 Chron. xxx.

ceedings of his son; whom if the Levites did (according to the trust reposed in them) neglect, in discharging their duties, likely it is that he meant to be even with them, and make them now to feel, as many princes of the land had done, his heavy indignation. How it happened that Libna was not hereupon destroyed, yea, that it was not (for ought that we can read) so much as besieged or molested, may justly seem very strange. And the more strange it is in regard of the mighty armies which Jehoshaphat was able to raise, being sufficient to have overwhelmed any one town, and buried it under the earth, which they might in one month have cast into it with shovels by ordinary approaches.

But it seems that of these great numbers which his father could have levied, there were not many whom Jehoram could well trust; and therefore perhaps he thought it an easier loss to let one town go, than to put weapons into their hands, who were more likely to follow the example of Libna, than to punish it. So desperate is the condition of tyrants, who thinking it a greater happiness to be feared than to be loved, are fain themselves to stand in fear of those, by whom they might have been dreadful unto others.

SECT. IV.

Of the miseries falling upon Jehoram, and of his death.

THESE afflictions not sufficing to make any impression of God's displeasure in the mind of the wicked prince; a prophecy in writing was delivered unto him, which threatened both his people, his children, his wives, and his own body. Hereby likewise it appears, that he was a cruel persecutor of God's servants; inasmuch as the prophets durst not reprove him to his face, as they had done many of his predecessors, both good and evil kings, but were fain to denounce God's judgments against him by letters, keeping themselves close, and far from him. This epistle is said to have been sent unto him from [o] Elias the prophet; but Elias was translated, and Elizeus prophesied in his stead before this

[o] 2 Chron. xxi. 12.

time, even in the days of Jehoshaphat p. Wherefore it may be that Elias left this prophecy in writing behind him, or that (as some conjecture) the error of one letter in writing was the occasion that we read Elias for Elizeus. Indeed any thing may rather be believed than the tradition held by some of the Jewish rabbins, that Elias from heaven did send this epistle; a tale somewhat like to the fable of our Lady's letters, devised by Erasmus, or of the verse that was sent from heaven to St. Giles.

But whosoever was the author of this threatening epistle, the accomplishment of the prophecy was as terrible as the sentence. For the Philistines and Arabians brake into Judæa, and took the king's house, wherein they found all or many of his children and wives, all which they slew or carried away, with great part of his goods. These Philistines had not presumed, since the time of David, to make any offensive war till now; for they were by him almost consumed, and had lost the best of their towns, maintaining themselves in the rest of their small territory by defensive arms, to which they were constrained at Gibbethon by the Israelites. The Arabians were likely to have been then, as they are now, a naked people, all horsemen, and ill appointed; their country affording no other furniture, than such as might make them fitter to rob and spoil in the open fields, than to offend strong cities, such as were thick set in Juda. True it is, that in ages long after following they conquered all the south parts of the world then known, in a very short space of time, destroying some, and building other some very stately cities. But it must be considered, that this was when they had learned of the Romans the art of war; and that the provisions which they found, together with the arts which they learned, in one subdued province, did make them able and skilful in pursuing their conquest, and going onward into regions far removed from them. At this day, having lost in effect all that they had gotten, such of them as live in Arabia itself are good horsemen, but ill appointed, very dangerous to passengers, but unable to

p 2 Kings ii. 3. 11.

deal with good soldiers, as riding stark naked, and rather trusting in the swiftness of their horses than in any other means of resistance, where they are well opposed. And such, or little better, may they seem to have been, that spoiled Judæa in the time of Jehoram. For their country was always barren and desert, wanting manual arts whereby to supply the naturals with furniture; neither are these bands named as chief in that action, but rather adherents of the Philistines. Out of this we may infer, that one half, yea, or one quarter of the numbers found in the least muster of Juda and Benjamin under Jehoshaphat, (wherein were enrolled three hundred and eighty thousand fighting men,) had been enough to have driven away far greater forces than these enemies are likely to have brought into the field, had not the people been unable to deal with them for lack of weapons, which were now kept from them by their prince's jealousy, as in Saul's time by the policy of the Philistines.

It may seem that the house of the king, which these invaders took, was not his palace in Jerusalem, but rather some other house of his abroad in the country, where his wives and children at that time lay for their recreation; because we read not that they did sack the city, or spoil the temple, which would have invited them as a more commodious booty, had they got possession thereof. Yet perhaps they took Jerusalem itself by surprise, the people being disarmed, and the king's guards too weak to keep them out; yet had not the courage to hold it, because it was so large and populous; and therefore having done what spoil they could, withdrew themselves with such purchase as they were able safely to convey away.

The slaughter committed by Jehu upon the two and forty brethren of Ahazia, or (as they are called elsewhere) so many of his brother's sons, and the cruel massacre, wherein all the royal seed perished (only Joas excepted) under the tyranny of Athalia, following within two years after this invasion of the Philistines and Arabians, make it seem probable, that the sons of Jehoram were not all slain at once, but that rather the first murder began in his own

time, and was seconded by many other heavy blows, wherewith his house was incessantly stricken, until it was in a manner quite hewed down.

After these calamities, the hand of God was extended against the body of this wicked king, smiting him with a grievous disease in his bowels, which left him not until his guts fell out, and his wretched soul departed from his miserable carcass. The people of the land, as they had small cause of comfort in his life, so had they not the good manners to pretend sorrow for his death; wherefore he was denied a place of burial among his ancestors the kings of Juda, though his own son succeeded him in the kingdom, who was guided by the same spirits that had been his father's evil angels. Athalia had other matters to trouble her head, than the pompous interring of a dead husband. She was thinking how to provide for the future, to maintain her own greatness, to retain her favourites in their authority, and to place about her son such [q] *counsellors of the house of Ahab* as were fittest for her turn. Wherefore she thought it unreasonable to make much ado about a thing of nothing, and offend the people's eyes with a stately funeral of a man by them detested; but rather chose to let the blame of things past be laid upon the dead, than to procure an ill opinion of herself and hers, which it now did concern her to avoid. Such is the quality of wicked instigators, having made greedy use of bad employments, to charge, not only with his own vices, but with their faults also, the man whose evil inclinations their sinister counsels have made worse, when once he is gone, and can profit them no longer. The death of Jehoram fell out indeed in a busy time, when his friend and cousin the Israelite, who had the same name, was entangled in a difficult war against the Aramite; and therefore could have had no better leisure to help Athalia in setting of things according to her own mind, than he had (perhaps through the same hinderance) to help her husband, when he was distressed by the Philistines. Yea, rather, he needed and craved the assist-

[q] 2 Chron. xxii. 4.

ance of the men of Juda, for the taking in of Ramoth Gilead, where they had not sped so well the last time, that they should willingly run thither again, unless they were very fairly entreated.

The acts of this wicked man I have thought good to handle the more particularly, (pursuing the examination of all occurrences, as far as the circumstances remembered in holy scripture would guide me by their directions,) to the end that it might more plainly appear how the corrupted affections of men, impugning the revealed will of God, accomplish nevertheless his hidden purpose, and without miraculous means confound themselves in the seeming wise devices of their own folly: as likewise to the end that all men might learn to submit their judgments to the ordinance of God, rather than to think that they may safely dispense with his commandments, and follow the prudent conceits which worldly wisdom dictateth unto them. For in such kind of unhappy subtilties it is manifest that Athaliah was able to furnish both her husband and her son; but the issue of them partly hath appeared already, and partly will appear in that which immediately followeth.

SECT. V.

Of the reign of Ahaziah, and his business with the king of Israel.

OCHAZIAS, or Ahaziah, the son of Jehoram and Athaliah, began his reign over Juda in the twelfth year of Jehoram, the son of Ahab king of Israel, and reigned but that one year. Touching his age, it is a point of more difficulty than importance to know it; yet hath it bred much disputation, whereof I see no more probable conclusion than that of Torniellus, alleging the edition of the Septuagint at Rome, anno Domini 1588, which saith that he was twenty years old in the beginning of his kingdom, and the annotations thereupon, which cite other copies, that give him two years more. Like enough he is to have been young; for he was governed by his mother and her ministers, who gave him counsel by which he perished. In matter of religion, he altered none of his father's courses. In matter of state,

he likewise upheld the league made with the house of Ahab. He was much busied in doing little, and that with ill success. He accompanied his cousin the Israelite against Ramoth Gilead, which they won, but not without blows; for the Aramites fought so well, that the king of Israel was fain to adventure his own person, which scaped not unwounded.

The town being won, was manned strongly, in expectation of some attempt likely to be made by Hazael king of Aram: which done, Jehoram king of Israel withdrew himself to the city of Jezreel, where with more quiet he might attend the curing of his wounds; and Ahaziah returned to Jerusalem. It seems that he was but newly come home, (for he reigned in all scantly one year, whereof the former expedition, with the preparations for it, had taken up a great part,) when he made a new journey, as it were for good manners' sake, to visit the king of Israel, who lay sore of his wounds. Belike Athaliah was brewing some new plots, which his presence would have hindered, and therefore sought every occasion to thrust him abroad: for otherwise it was but a vain piece of work so to leave his kingdom, having no other business than by way of compliment to go see one whom he had seen yesterday. Certain it is, that the Lord had resolved at this time to put in execution that heavy judgment which he had laid by the mouth of Elias the prophet upon the house of Ahab. And hereunto at this time had he disposed, not only the concurrence of all other things which in man's eyes might seem to have been accidental, but the very thoughts and affections of such persons as intended nothing less than the fulfilling of his high pleasure. Of these, Athaliah doubtless was one; whose mischievous purposes it will shortly be needful, for explanation of some difficulties arising, that we diligently consider and examine.

SECT. VI.

How Ahaziah perished with the house of Ahab; and how that family was destroyed by Jehu.

THE whole army of Israel, with all the principal cap-

tains, lying in Ramoth Gilead, a disciple of Elizæus the prophet came in among the captains that were sitting together, who calling out from among them Jehu, a principal man, took him apart, and anointed him king over Israel; rehearsing unto him the prophecy of Elias against the house of Ahab, and letting him understand that it was the pleasure of God to make him executioner of that sentence. The fashion of the messenger was such as bred in the captains a desire to know his errand, which Jehu thought meet to let them know, as doubting whether they had overheard all the talk or no. When he had acquainted them with the whole matter, they made no delay, but forthwith proclaimed him king; for the prophecy of Elias was well known among them, neither durst any one oppose himself against him that was by God ordained to perform it.

Jehu, who had upon the sudden this great honour thrown upon him, was not slow to put himself in possession of it, but used the first heat of their affections who joined with him in setting on foot the business which nearly concerned him, and was not to be foreslowed, being no more his own than God's.

The first care taken was, that no news of the revolt might be carried to Jezreel, whereby the king might have had warning either to fight or flee: this being foreseen, he marched swiftly away, to take the court while it was yet secure. King Jehoram was now so well recovered of his wounds, that he could endure to ride abroad, for which cause it seems that there was much feasting and joy made, especially by queen Jezabel, who kept her state so well, that the brethren of Ahaziah coming hither at this time, did make it as well their errand to salute the queen as to visit the king.

Certain it is, that since the rebellion of Moab against Israel, the house of Ahab did never so much flourish as at this time. Seventy princes of the blood royal there were that lived in Samaria; Jehoram, the son of queen Jezabel, had won Ramoth Gilead, which his father had attempted in vain, with loss of his life; and he won it by valiant fight, wherein he received wounds, of which the danger was now

past, but the honour likely to continue. The amity was so great between Israel and Juda, that it might suffice to daunt all their common enemies, leaving no hope of success to any rebellious enterpriser; so that now the prophecy of Elias might be forgotten, or no otherwise remembered, than as an unlikely tale, by them that beheld the majestical face of the court, wherein so great a friend as the king of Juda was entertained, and forty princes of his blood expected.

In the midst of this security, whilst these great estates were (perhaps) either consulting about prosecution of their intents, first against the Aramites, and then against Moab, Edom, and other rebels and enemies; or else were triumphing in joy of that which was already well achieved, and the queen-mother dressing herself in the bravest manner to come down amongst them; tidings were brought in, that the watchman had from a tower discovered a company coming. These news were not very troublesome; for the army that lay in Ramoth Gilead, to be ready against all attempts of the Aramites, was likely enough to be discharged upon some notice taken that the enemy would not or could not stir. Only the king sent out an horseman to know what the matter was, and to bring him word. The messenger coming to Jehu, and asking whether all were well, was retained by him, who intended to give the king as little warning as might be. The seeming negligence of this fellow, in not returning with an answer, might argue the matter to be of small importance; yet the king, to be satisfied, sent out another, that should bring him word how all went; and he was likewise detained by Jehu. These dumb shows bred some suspicion in Jehoram, whom the watchman certified of all that happened. And now the company drew so near, that they might, though not perfectly, be discerned, and notice taken of Jehu himself by the furious manner of his marching. Wherefore the king, that was loath to discover any weakness, caused his chariot to be made ready, and issued forth, with Ahaziah king of Juda in his company, whose presence added majesty to his train, when strength to resist, or expedition to flee, had been more

needful. This could not be done so hastily, but that Jehu was come even to the town's end, and there they met each other in the field of Naboth. Jehoram began to salute Jehu with terms of peace, but receiving a bitter answer, his heart failed him, so that crying out upon the treason to his fellow king, he turned away, to have fled. But Jehu soon overtook him with an arrow, wherewith he struck him dead, and threw his carcass into that field, which, purchased with the blood of the rightful owner, was to be watered with the blood of the unjust possessor. Neither did Ahaziah escape so well, but that he was arrested by a wound, which held him till death did seize upon him.

The king's palace was joining to the wall by the gate of the city, where Jezabel might soon be advertised of this calamity, if she did not with her own eyes behold it. Now it was high time for her to call to God for mercy, whose judgment, pronounced against her long before, had overtaken her when she least expected it. But she, full of indignation and proud thoughts, made herself ready in all haste, and painted her face, hoping with her stately and imperious looks to daunt the traitor, or at the least to utter some apophthegm that should express her brave spirit, and brand him with such a reproach as might make him odious for ever. Little did she think upon the hungry dogs that were ordained to devour her, whose paunches the *stibium*, with which she besmeared her eyes, would more offend, than the scolding language wherewith she armed her tongue could trouble the ears of him that had her in his power. As Jehu drew near, she opened her window, and looking out upon him, began to put him in mind of Zimri, that had not long enjoyed the fruits of his treason and murder of the king his master. This was, in mere human valuation, stoutly spoken, but was indeed a part of miserable folly, as are all things, howsoever laudable, if they have an ill relation to God the Lord of all. Her own eunuchs, that stood by and heard her, were not affected so much as with any compassion of her fortune; much less was her enemy daunted with her

proud spirit. When Jehu saw that she did use the little remainder of her life in seeking to vex him, he made her presently to understand her own estate by deeds and not by words. He only called to her servants, to know which of them would be of his side, and soon found them ready to offer their service before the very face of their proud lady. Hereupon he commanded them to cast her down headlong; which immediately they performed, without all regard of her greatness and estate, wherein she had a few hours before shined so gloriously in the eyes of men; of men that considered not the judgments of God that had been denounced against her.

So perished this accursed woman by the rude hands of her own servants, at the commandment of her greatest enemy, that was yesterday her subject, but now her lord; and she perished miserably, struggling in vain with base grooms, who contumeliously did hale and thrust her, whilst her insulting enemy sat on horseback, adding indignity to her grief by scornfully beholding the shameful manner of her fall, and trampling her body under foot. Her dead carcass, that was left without the walls, was devoured by dogs, and her very memory was odious. Thus the vengeance of God rewarded her idolatry, murder, and oppression, with slow but sure payment, and full interest.

Ahaziah king of Juda fleeing apace from Jehu, was overtaken by the way where he lurked; and receiving his deadly wound in the kingdom of Samaria, was suffered to get him gone, (which he did in all haste,) and seek his burial in his own kingdom; and this favour he obtained for his grandfather's sake, not for his father's, nor his own. He died at Megiddo, and was thence carried to Jerusalem, where he was interred with his ancestors, having reigned about one year.

CHAP. XXI.

Of Athaliah, and whose son he was that succeeded unto her.

SECT. I.

Of Athaliah's usurping the kingdom, and what pretences she might forge.

AFTER the death of Ahaziah, it is said, that his house *was not able to retain the kingdom;* which note, and the proceedings of [r]Athaliah upon the death of her son, have given occasion to divers opinions concerning the pedigree of Joash, who reigned shortly after. For Athaliah being thus despoiled of her son, under whose name she had ruled at her pleasure, did forthwith lay hold upon all the princes of the blood, and slew them, that so she might occupy the royal throne herself, and reign as queen, rather than live a subject. She had beforehand put into great place, and made counsellors unto her son, such as were fittest for her purpose, and ready at all times to execute her will: that she kept a strong guard about her, it is very likely; and as likely it is that the great execution done by Jehoram upon the princes and many of the nobility, had made the people tame, and fearful to stir, whatsoever they saw or heard.

Yet ambition, how violent soever it be, is seldom or never so shameless as to refuse the commodity of goodly pretences offering themselves; but rather scrapes together all that will any way serve to colour her proceedings. Wherefore it were not absurd for us to think that Athaliah, when she saw the princes of the royal blood all of them in a manner slain by her husband, and afterwards his own children destroyed by the Philistines, began even then to play her own game, reducing by artificial practice into fair likelihoods those possibilities wherewith her husband's bad fortune had presented her. Not without great show of reason, either by her own mouth, or by some trusty creature of hers, might she give him to understand how needful it were to take the best order whilst as yet he might, for fear of the worst that

[r] 2 Chron. xxii. 9.

might happen. If the issue of David, which now remained only in his family, should by any accident fail, (as woful experience had already shewed what might after come to pass,) the people of Juda were not unlikely to choose a king of some new stock, a popular seditious man peradventure, one that, to countenance his own unworthiness, would not care what aspersions he laid upon that royal house, which was fallen down. And who could assure him, that some ambitious spirit, foreseeing what might be gotten thereby, did not already contrive the destruction of him and all his seed? Wherefore it were the wisest way to design by his authority, not only his successor, but also the reversioner, and so to provide that the crown might never be subject to any rifling, but remain in the disposition of them that loved him best, if the worst that might be feared coming to pass, his own posterity could not retain it.

Such persuasions being urged and earnestly followed, by the importunate solicitation of her that governed his affections, were able to make the jealous tyrant think that the only way to frustrate all devices of such as gaped after a change, was to make her heir the last and youngest of his house, whom it most concerned, as being the queen-mother, to uphold the first and eldest.

If Athaliah took no such course as this in her husband's times, yet might she do it in her son's. For Ahazia (besides that he was wholly ruled by his mother) was not likely to take much care for the security of his half brethren, or their children; as accounting his father's other wives, in respect of his own high born mother, little better than concubines, and their children basely begotten. But if this mischievous woman forgat herself so far in her wicked policy, that she lost all opportunity, which the weakness of her husband and son did afford, of procuring to herself some seeming title; yet could she afterwards fain some such matter, as boldly she might; being sure that none would ask to see her evidence, for fear of being sent to learn the certainty of her son or husband in another world. But I rather think that she took order for her affairs beforehand.

For though she had no reason to suspect or fear the sudden death of her son, yet it was the wisest way to provide betimes against all that might happen, whilst her husband's issue by other women was young, and unable to resist. We plainly find that the brethren or nephews of Ahazia, to the number of two and forty, were sent to the court of Israel only to salute the children of the king and the children of the queen. The slender occasion of which long journey considered, together with the quality of these persons, (being in effect all the stock of Jehoram that could be grown to any strength,) makes it very suspicious that their entertainment in Jezabel's house would only have been more formal, but little differing in substance from that which they found at the hand of Jehu. He that looks into the courses held both before and after by these two queens, will find cause enough to think no less. Of such as have aspired unto lordships not belonging to them, and thrust out the right heirs by pretence of testaments that had no other validity than the sword of such as claimed by them could give, histories of late, yea of many ages, afford plentiful examples; and the rule of Salomon is true; [s] *Is there any thing whereof one may say, Behold, this is new? It hath been already in the old time that was before us.* That a king might shed his brother's blood, was proved by Salomon upon Adonia; that he might aliene the crown from his natural heirs, David had given proof: but these had good ground of their doings. They which follow examples that please them, will neglect the reasons of those examples, if they please them not, and rest contented with the practice, as more willingly shewing what they may do, than acknowledging why Salomon slew his brother, that had begun one rebellion, and was entering into another. [t] *Jehoram slew all his brethren, which were better than he:* David purchased the kingdom, and might the more freely dispose of it; yet he disposed of it as the Lord appointed. If Jehoram, who had lost much and gotten nothing, thought that he might aliene the remainder at his pleasure; or if Ahazia sought to cut off the suc-

[s] Eccles. i. 10. [t] 2 Chron. xxi. 13.

cession of his brethren, or of their issue; either of these was to be answered with the words which Jehoiada the priest used afterwards, in declaring the title of Joash; *Behold, the king's son must reign; as the Lord hath said of the sons of David.* Wherefore, though I hold it very probable that Athaliah did pretend some title, whatsoever it might be, to the crown of Juda; yet is it most certain, that she had thereunto no right at all, but only got it by treachery, murder, and open violence; and so she held it six whole years, and a part of the seventh, in good seeming security.

SECT. II.

How Jehu spent his time in Israel, so that he could not molest Athaliah.

IN all this time Jehu did never go about to disturb her; which in reason he was likely to desire, being an enemy to her whole house. But he was occupied at the first in establishing himself, rooting out the posterity of Ahab, and reforming somewhat in religion; afterwards in wars against the Aramite, wherein he was so far overcharged, that hardly he could retain his own, much less attempt upon others. Of the line of Ahab there were seventy living in Samaria, out of which number Jehu, by letter, advised the citizens to set up some one as king, and to prepare themselves to fight in his defence. Hereby might they gather how confident he was, which they well understood to proceed from greater power about him than they could gather to resist him. Wherefore they took example by the two kings whom he had slain, and being exceedingly afraid of him, they offered him their service; wherein they so readily shewed themselves obedient, that in less than one day's warning, they sent him the heads of all those princes, as they were enjoined by a second letter from him. After this, he surprised all the priests of Baal by a subtilty, feigning a great sacrifice to their god, by which means he drew them all together into one temple, where he slew them; and in the same zeal to God utterly demolished all the monuments of that impiety.

Concerning the idolatry devised by Jeroboam, no king of Israel had ever greater reason than Jehu to destroy it. For he needed not to fear lest the people should be allured unto the house of David; it was (in appearance) quite rooted up, and the crown of Juda in the possession of a cruel tyranness: he had received his kingdom by the unexpected grace of God; and further, in regard of his zeal expressed in destroying Baal out of Israel, he was promised, notwithstanding his following the sin of Jeroboam, that the kingdom should remain in his family to the fourth generation. But all this would not serve; he would needs help to piece out God's providence with his own circumspection; doing therein like a foolish greedy gamester, who by stealing a needless card to assure himself of winning a stake, forfeits his whole rest. He had questionless displeased many, by that which he did against Baal; and many more he should offend by taking from them the use of a superstition so long practised as was that idolatry of Jeroboam. Yet all these, how many soever they were, had never once thought upon making him king, if God, whom (to retain them) he now forsook, had not given him the crown, when more difficulties appeared in the way of getting it than could at any time after be found in the means of holding it.

This ingratitude of Jehu drew terrible vengeance of God upon Israel, whereof Hazael king of Damascus was the executioner. The cruelty of this barbarous prince we may find in the prophecy of Elizæus, who foretold it, saying, [u] *Their strong cities shalt thou set on fire, and their young men shalt thou slay with the sword, and shalt dash their infants against the stones, and rent in pieces their women with child.* So did not only the wickedness of Ahab cause the ruin of his whole house, but the obstinate idolatry of the people bring a lamentable misery upon all the land. For the fury of Hazael's victory was not quenched with the destruction of a few towns, nor wearied with one invasion; but he [x] *smote them in all the coasts of Israel*, and wasted all the country beyond the river of Jordan. Notwithstand-

[u] 2 Kings viii. 12. [x] 2 Kings x. 32.

ing all these calamities, it seems that the people repented not of their idolatry, (*for in those days the Lord began to loathe Israel,*) but rather it is likely that they bemoaned the noble house of Ahab, under which they had beaten those enemies to whom they were now a prey, and had bravely fought for the conquest of Syria, where they had enlarged their border by winning Ramoth Gilead, and compelled Benhadad to restore the cities which his father had won; whereas now they were fain to make woful shifts, living under a lord that had better fortune and courage in murdering his master that had put him in trust, than in defending his people from their cruel enemies. Thus it commonly falls out, that they who can find all manner of difficulties in serving him to whom nothing is difficult, are, instead of the ease and pleasure to themselves propounded by contrary courses, overwhelmed with the troubles which they sought to avoid, and therein by God, whom they first forsook, forsaken, and left unto the wretched labours of their own blind wisdom, wherein they had reposed all their confidence.

SECT. III.

Of Athaliah's government.

THESE calamities falling upon Israel, kept Athaliah safe on that side, giving her leisure to look to things at home, as having little to do abroad, unless it were so that she held some correspondency with Hazael, pretending therein to imitate her husband's grandfather king Asa, who had done the like. And some probability that she did so may be gathered out of that which is recorded of her doings. For we find, that this [y] *wicked Athaliah and her children brake up the house of God; and all things that were dedicate for the house of the Lord did they bestow upon Baalim.* Such a sacrilege, though it proceeded from a desire to set out her own idolatry, with such pomp as might make it the more glorious in the people's eyes, was not likely to want some fair pretext of necessity of the state so requiring: in which case others before her had made bold with that holy place;

[y] 2 Chron. xxiv. 7.

and her next successor was fain to do the like, being thereunto forced by Hazael, who perhaps was delighted with the taste of that which was formerly thence extracted for his sake.

Under this impious government of Athaliah, the devotion of the priests and Levites was very notable, and served (no doubt) very much to retain the people in the religion taught by God himself, howsoever the queen's proceedings advanced the contrary. For the poverty of that sacred tribe of Levi must needs have been exceeding great at this time, all their lands and possessions in the ten tribes being utterly lost, the oblations and other perquisites by which they lived being now very few and small; and the store laid up in better times under godly kings being all taken away by shameful robbery. Yet they upheld in all this misery the service of God and the daily sacrifice, keeping duly their courses, and performing obedience to the high priest, no less than in those days wherein their entertainment was far better.

SECT. IV.

Of the preservation of Joash.

JEHOIADA then occupied the high priesthood, an honourable, wise, and religious man. To his carefulness it may be ascribed, that the state of the church was in some slender sort upheld in those unhappy times. His wife was Jehoshabeth, who was daughter of king Jehoram, and sister to Ahaziah, a godly lady and virtuous, whose piety makes it seem that Athaliah was not her mother, though her access to the court argue the contrary; but her discreet carriage might more easily procure her welcome to her own father's house, than the education under such a mother could have permitted her to be such as she was. By her care Joash, the young prince that reigned soon after, was conveyed out of the nursery when Athaliah destroyed all the king's children, and was carried secretly into the temple, where as secretly he was brought up. How it came to pass that this young child was not hunted out when his body was missing, nor any great reckoning (for ought that we find) [illegible] his

escape, I will not stand to examine; for it was not good in policy, that the people should hear say that one of the children had avoided that cruel blow; it might have made them hearken after innovations, and so be the less conformable to the present government. So Joash was delivered out of that slaughter, he and his nurse being gone no man could tell whither, and might be thought peradventure to be cast away, as having no other guard than a poor woman that gave him suck, who foolishly doubting that she herself should have been slain, was fled away with him into some desolate places, where it was like enough that she and he should perish. In such cases flatterers, or men desirous of reward, easily coin such tales, and rather swear them to be true in their own knowledge, than they will lose the thanks due to their joyful tidings.

SECT. V.

Whose son Joash was.

§. 1.

Whether Joash may be thought likely to have been the son of Ahaziah.

NOW concerning this [z] Joash, whose son he was, it is a thing of much difficulty to affirm, and hath caused much controversy among writers. The places of scripture which call him *the son of Ahaziah* seem plain enough. How any figure of the Hebrew language might give that title of *son* unto him, in regard that he was his successor, I neither by myself can find, nor can by any help of authors learn how to answer the difficulties appearing in the contrary opinions of them that think him to have been, or not, the natural son of Ahaziah. For whereas it is said, that [a] *the house of Ahaziah was not able to retain the kingdom,* some do infer that this Joash was not properly called his son, but was the next of his kindred, and therefore succeeded him, as a son in the inheritance of his father. And hereunto the murder committed by Athaliah doth very well agree. For she perceiving that the kingdom was to fall into their hands, in whom she had no interest, might easily find cause to fear

[z] 2 Kings xi. 2. 2 Chron. xxii. 11. [a] 2 Chron. xxii. 9.

that the tyranny exercised by her husband, at her instigation, upon so many noble houses, would now be revenged upon herself. The ruin of her idolatrous religion might in this case terrify both her and her minions; the sentence of the law rewarding that offence with death, and the tragedy of Jezabel teaching her what might happen to another queen. All this had little concerned her, if her own grandchild had been heir to the crown; for she that had power enough to make herself queen, could with more ease and less envy have taken upon her the office of a protector, by which authority she might have done her pleasure, and been the more both obeyed by others and secure of her own estate, as not wanting an heir. Wherefore it was not needful that she should be so unnatural as to destroy the child of her own son, of whose life she might have made greater use than she could of his death; whereas indeed the love of grandmothers to their nephews is little less than that of mothers to their children.

This argument is very strong; for it may seem incredible that all natural affection should be cast aside, when as neither necessity urgeth, nor any commodity thereby gotten requireth it; yea, when all human policy doth teach one the same, which nature without reason would have persuaded.

§. 2.

That Joash did not descend from Nathan.

BUT (as it is more easy to find a difficulty in that which is related, than to shew how it might have otherwise been) the pedigree of this Joash is, by them which think him not the son of Ahaziah, set down in such sort that it may very justly be suspected. They say that he descended from Nathan the son of David, and not from Salomon; to which purpose they bring a history (I know not whence) of two families of the race of David, saying that the line of Salomon held the kingdom with this condition, that if at any time it failed, the family of Nathan should succeed it. Concerning this Nathan, the son of David, there are that would have him to be Nathan the prophet, who (as they th[redacted]

was by David adopted. And of this opinion was Origen, as also St. Augustine sometime was; but afterwards he revoked it, as was meet; for this Nathan is reckoned among the sons of David by [b] Bathshua, the daughter of Ammiel, and therefore could not be the prophet. Gregory Nazianzene, (as I find him cited by Peter Martyr,) and after him Erasmus and Faber Stapulensis, have likewise held the same of Joash, deriving him from Nathan. But Nathan, and those other brethren of Salomon by the same mother, are thought, upon good likelihoods, to have been the children of Uria the Hittite; and so are they accounted by sundry of the fathers, and by Lyra and Abulensis, who follow the Hebrew expositors of that place in the first of Chronicles. The words of Salomon, calling himself the only begotten of his mother, do approve this exposition; for we read of no more than two sons which Bathshua, or Bathsheba, did bear unto David, whereof the one, begotten in adultery, died an infant, and Salomon only of her children by the king did live. So that the rest must needs have been the children of Uria, and are thought to have been David's only by adoption. Wherefore, if Joash had not been the son of Ahaziah, then must that pedigree have been false, wherein St. Matthew deriveth him lineally from Salomon; yea, then had not our blessed Saviour issued from the loins of David, according to the flesh, but had only been of his line by courtesy of the nation, and form of law, as any other might have been. As for the authority of Philo, which hath drawn many late writers into the opinion that Joash was not of the posterity of Salomon, it is enough to say that this was friar Annius's Philo; for no other edition of Philo hath any such matter: but Annius can make authors to speak what he list.

§. 3.

That Joash may probably be thought to have been the son of Jehoram.

IN so doubtful a case, if it seem lawful to hold an opinion that no man hath yet thought upon, methinks it were

[b] 1 Chron. iii. 5.

not amiss to lay open at once, and peruse together two places of scripture, whereof the [c] one telling the wickedness of Jehoram the son of Jehoshaphat king of Juda, for which he and his children perished, rehearseth it as one of God's mercies towards the house of David, that according to his promise he would *give him a light, and to his children for ever:* the other doth say, that for the offences of the same Jehoram, *there was not a son left him save Jehoahaz the youngest of his sons.* Now, if it were in regard of God's promise to David, that, after those massacres of Jehoram upon all his brethren, and of the Philistines and Arabians upon the children of Jehoram, one of the seed of David escaped, why may it not be thought that he was said to have escaped in whom the line of David was preserved? for had all the race of Salomon been rooted up in these woful tragedies, and the progeny of Nathan succeeded in place thereof, like enough it is that some remembrance more particular would have been extant of an event so memorable. That the race of Nathan was not extinguished, it is indeed apparent by the genealogy of our Lord, as it is recounted by St. Luke; but the preservation of the house of David, mentioned in the books of Kings and Chronicles, was performed in the person of Jehoahaz, in whom the royal branch of Salomon, the natural and not only legal issue remaining of David, was kept alive: wherefore it may be thought that this Joash, who followed Athaliah in the kingdom, was the youngest son of Jehoram, whose life Athaliah, as a step-dame, was not unlikely to pursue. For it were not easily understood why the preservation of David's line, by God's especial mercy in regard of his promise made, should pertain rather to that time, when besides Ahaziah himself there were two and forty of his [d] brethren, or (as in another place they are called) sons of his brethren, remaining alive, which afterwards were all slain by Jehu, than have reference to the lamentable [e] destruction and little less than extirpation of that progeny, wherein one only did escape. Certainly that inhuman murder which Jeho-

[c] 2 Kings viii. 19. [d] 2 Kings x. 13. [e] 2 Chron. xxii. 8.

ram committed upon his brethren, if it were (as appeareth in the history) revenged upon his own children, then was not this vengeance of God accomplished by the Philistines and Arabians, but, being only begun by them, was afterwards prosecuted by Jehu, and finally took effect by the hands of that same wicked woman, at whose instigation he had committed such barbarous outrage. And from this execution of God's heavy judgment laid upon [f] Jehoram and all his children, only Jehoahaz his youngest son was exempted; whom therefore if I should affirm to be the same with Joash, which is called the son of Ahaziah, I should not want good probability. Some further appearance of necessity there is, which doth argue that it could no otherwise have been: for it was the youngest son of Jehoram in whom the race was preserved, which could not in any likelihood be Ahaziah, seeing that he was twenty years old at the least (as is already noted) when he began to reign, and consequently was born in the eighteenth or twentieth year of his father's age. Now I know not whether of the two is more unlikely, either that Jehoram should have begotten many children before he was eighteen years old, or that having (as he had) many wives and children, he should upon the sudden at his eighteenth year become unfruitful, and beget no more in twenty years following: each of which must have been true, if this were true that Ahaziah was the same Jehoahaz which was his youngest son. But this inconvenience is taken away, and those other doubts, arising from the causeless cruelty of Athaliah in seeking the life of Joash, are easily cleared, if Joash and Jehoahaz were one. Neither doth his age withstand this opinion, for he was [g] *seven years old when he began to reign;* which if we understand of years complete, he might have been a year old at the death of Jehoram, being begotten somewhat after the beginning of his sickness. Neither is it more absurd to say that he was the natural son of Jehoram, though called the son of Ahaziah, than it were to say, as great authors have done, this difficulty notwithstanding, that he was of the posterity of Na-

[f] 2 Chron. xxi. 14. [g] 2 Chron. xxiv. 1.

than. One thing indeed I know not how to answer; which, had it concurred with the rest, might have served as the very foundation of this opinion. The name of Jehoahaz, that soundeth much more near to Joash than to Ahaziah in an English ear, doth in the Hebrew, (as I am informed by some skilful in that language,) through the diversity of certain letters, differ much from that which it most resembleth in our western manner of writing, and little from the other. Now although it be so that Ahaziah himself be also called [h]Azariah, and must have had three names, if he were the same with Jehoahaz; in which manner Joash might also have had several names; yet because I find no other warrant hereof than a bare possibility, I will not presume to build an opinion upon the weak foundation of mine own conjecture, but leave all to the consideration of such as have more ability to judge and leisure to consider of this point.

§. 4.

Upon what reasons Athaliah might seek to destroy Joash, if he were her own grandchild.

IF therefore we shall follow that which is commonly received, and interpret the text according to the letter, it may be said that Athaliah was not only blinded by the passions of ambition and zeal to her idolatrous worship of Baalim, but pursued the accomplishment of some natural desires, in seeking the destruction of her grandchild, and the rest of the blood royal. For whether it were so that Athaliah (as proud and cruel women are not always chaste) had imitated the liberty of Jezabel, her sister-in-law, whose [i]whoredoms were upbraided by Jehu to her son; or whether she had children by some former husband, before she was married unto Jehoram, (which is not unlikely in regard of her age, who was daughter of Omri and sister to Ahab,) certain it is that she had sons of her own, and those old enough to be employed, as they were, in robbing of the temple. So it is not greatly to be wondered at, that to settle the crown upon her own children, she did seek to cut off, by wicked policy, all other claims. As for Joash, if she

[h] 2 Chron. xxii. 6. [i] 2 Kings ix. 22.

were his grandmother, yet she might mistrust the interest which his mother would have in him, lest when he came to years it might withdraw him from her devotion. And hereof (besides that women do commonly better love their daughters' husbands than their sons' wives) there is some appearance in the reign of her son; for she made him spend all his time in idle journeys, to no other apparent end than that she might rule at home; and he living abroad be estranged from his wife, and entertain some new fancies, wherein Jezabel had cunning enough to be his tutoress. But when the sword of Jehu had rudely cut in sunder all these fine devices, then was Athaliah fain to go roundly to work, and do as she did, whereby she thought to make all sure. Otherwise, if (as I could rather think) she were only step-dame to Joash, we need not seek into the reasons moving her to take away his life; her own hatred was cause enough to despatch him among the first.

SECT. VI.

A digression, wherein is maintained the liberty of using conjecture in histories.

THUS much concerning the person of Joash, from whom, as from a new root, the tree of David was propagated into many branches. In handling of which matter, the more I consider the nature of this history, and the diversity between it and others, the less, methinks, I need to suspect mine own presumption as deserving blame for curiosity in matter of doubt, or boldness in liberty of conjecture. For all histories do give us information of human counsels and events, as far forth as the knowledge and faith of the writers can afford; but of God's will, by which all things are ordered, they speak only at random, and many times falsely. This we often find in profane writers, who ascribe the ill success of great undertakings to the neglect of some impious rites, whereof indeed God abhorred the performance as vehemently, as they thought him to be highly offended with the omission. Hereat we may the less wonder, if we consider the answer made by the Jews in Egypt unto Jeremy the pro-

phet, reprehending their idolatry. For, howsoever the written law of God was known unto the people, and his punishments laid upon them for contempt thereof were very terrible, and even then but newly executed; yet were they so obstinately bent unto their own wills, that they would not by any means be drawn to acknowledge the true cause of their affliction: but they told the prophet roundly, that they would worship the queen of heaven as they and their fathers, their kings and their princes, had used to do; [k] *For then*, said they, *had we plenty of victuals, and were well, and felt no evil:* adding, that all manner of miseries were befallen them since they left off the service of the *queen of heaven*. So blind is the wisdom of man in looking into the counsel of God, which to find out there is no better nor other guide than his own written will not perverted by vain additions.

But this history of the kings of Israel and Juda hath herein a singular prerogative above all that have been written by the most sufficient of merely human authors: it setteth down expressly the true and first causes of all that happened; not imputing the death of Ahab to his overforwardness in battle, the ruin of his family to the security of Jeroboam in Jezreel, nor the victories of Hazael to the great commotions raised in Israel by the coming of Jehu; but referring all unto the will of God, I mean, to his revealed will: from which, that his hidden purposes do not vary, this story, by many great examples, gives most notable proof. True it is, that the concurrence of second causes with their effects, is in these books nothing largely described, nor perhaps exactly in any of those histories that are in these points most copious. For it was well noted by that worthy gentleman [l] sir Philip Sidney, that historians do borrow of poets, not only much of their ornament, but somewhat of their substance. Informations are often false, records not always true, and notorious actions commonly insufficient to discover the passions, which did set them first on foot. Wherefore they are fain (I speak of the best, and in that

[k] Jer. xliv. 17, 18. [l] Sir Philip Sidney, in his Apology for Poetry.

which was allowed: for to take out of Livy every one circumstance of Claudius's journey against Asdrubal in Italy, fitting all to another business, or any practice of that kind, is neither historical nor poetical) to search into the particular humours of princes, and of those which have governed their affections, or the instruments by which they wrought, from whence they do collect the most likely motives or impediments of every business; and so figuring as near to the life as they can imagine the matter in hand, they judiciously consider the defects in council, or obliquity in proceeding.

Yet all this, for the most part, is not enough to give assurance, howsoever it may give satisfaction. For the heart of man is unsearchable; and princes, howsoever their intents be seldom hidden from some of those many eyes which pry both into them and into such as live about them, yet sometimes, either by their own close temper, or by some subtle mist, they conceal the truth from all reports. Yea, many times the affections themselves lie dead and buried in oblivion, when the preparations which they begat are converted to another use. The industry of an historian having so many things to weary it, may well be excused, when finding apparent cause enough of things done, it forbeareth to make further search; though it often fall out, where sundry occasions work to the same end, that one small matter in a weak mind is more effectual than many that seem far greater. So comes it many times to pass, that great fires, which consume whole houses or towns, begin with a few straws that are wasted or not seen; when the flame is discovered, having fastened upon some wood-pile that catcheth all about it. Questionless it is, that the war commenced by Darius, and pursued by Xerxes against the Greeks, proceeded from a desire of the Persians to enlarge their empire: howsoever the enterprise of the Athenians upon Sardes was noised abroad as the ground of that quarrel; yet [m] Herodotus telleth us, that the wanton desire of queen Atossa, to have the Grecian dames her bondwomen, did first move Darius to prepare for this war, before he had

[m] Herod. l. 1.

received any injury; and when he did not yet so much desire to get more, as to enjoy what was already gotten.

I will not here stand to argue whether Herodotus be more justly reprehended by some, or defended by others, for alleging the vain appetite and secret speech of the queen in bed with her husband, as the cause of those great evils following; this I may boldly affirm, (having, I think, in every estate some sufficient witnesses,) that matters of much consequence, founded in all seeming upon substantial reasons, have issued indeed from such petty trifles, as no historian would either think upon, or could well search out.

Therefore it was a good answer that Sixtus Quintus the pope made to a certain friar coming to visit him in his popedom, as having long before in his meaner estate been his familiar friend. This poor friar being emboldened by the pope to use his old liberty of speech, adventured to tell him, that he very much wondered how it was possible for his holiness, whom he rather took for a direct honest man than any cunning politician, to attain unto the papacy; in compassing of which, all the subtlety, said he, of the most crafty brains, finds work enough: and therefore the more I think upon the art of the conclave, and your unaptness thereto, the more I needs must wonder. Pope Sixtus, to satisfy the plain-dealing friar, dealt with him again as plainly, saying, Hadst thou lived abroad as I have done, and seen by what folly this world is governed, thou wouldest wonder at nothing.

Surely, if this be referred unto those exorbitant engines, by which the course of affairs is moved, the pope said true; for the wisest of men are not without their vanities, which, requiring and finding mutual toleration, work more closely and earnestly than right reason either needs or can. But if we lift up our thoughts to that supreme Governor, of whose empire all that is true which by the poet was said of Jupiter,

Qui terram inertem, qui mare temperat
Ventosum, et urbes, regnaque tristia,

Divosque, mortalesque turmas,
Imperio regit unus æquo:
Who rules the duller earth, the wind-swoln streams,
The civil cities, and th' infernal realms,
Who th' host of heaven and the mortal band
Alone doth govern by his just command:

then shall we find the quite contrary. In him there is no uncertainty nor change; he foreseeth all things, and all things disposeth to his own honour; he neither deceiveth nor can be deceived; but continuing one and the same for ever, doth constantly govern all creatures by that law which he hath prescribed, and will never alter. The vanities of men beguile their vain contrivers, and the prosperity of the wicked is the way leading to their destruction; yea, this broad and headlong passage to hell is not so delightful as it seemeth at the first entrance, but hath growing in it, besides the poisons which infect the soul, many cruel thorns deeply wounding the body; all which, if any few escape, they have only this miserable advantage of others, that their descent was the more swift and expedite. But the service of God is the path guiding us to perfect happiness, and hath in it a true, though not complete felicity, yielding such abundance of joy to the conscience, as doth easily countervail all afflictions whatsoever: though indeed those brambles that sometimes tear the skin of such as walk in this blessed way, do commonly lay hold upon them at such time as they sit down to take their ease, and make them wish themselves at their journey's end, in presence of their Lord, whom they faithfully serve; in whose *presence is the fulness of joy, and at whose right hand are pleasures for evermore*, Psalm xvi. 11.

Wherefore it being the end and scope of all history, to teach by example of times past such wisdom as may guide our desires and actions, we should not marvel though the chronicles of the kings of Juda and Israel, being written by men inspired with the Spirit of God, instruct us chiefly in that which is most requisite for us to know, as the means to

attain unto true felicity both here and hereafter, propounding examples which illustrate this infallible rule, *The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom.* Had the expedition of Xerxes (as it was foretold by Daniel) been written by some prophet after the captivity, we may well believe, that the counsel of God therein, and the execution of his righteous will, should have occupied either the whole or the principal room in that narration. Yet had not the purpose of Darius, the desire of his wife, and the business at Sardes, with other occurrents, been the less true, though they might have been omitted, as the less material: but these things it had been lawful for any man to gather out of profane histories, or out of circumstances otherwise appearing, wherein he should not have done injury to the sacred writings, as long as he had forborne to derogate from the first causes, by ascribing to the second more than was due.

Such, or little different, is the business that I have now in hand: wherein I cannot believe that any man of judgment will tax me as either fabulous or presumptuous. For he doth not feign, that rehearseth probabilities as bare conjectures; neither doth he deprive the text, that seeketh to illustrate, and make good in human reason, those things which authority alone, without further circumstance, ought to have confirmed in every man's belief. And this may suffice in defence of the liberty which I have used in conjectures, and may hereafter use when occasion shall require, as neither unlawful nor misbeseeming an historian.

SECT. VII.

The conspiracy against Athaliah.

WHEN Athaliah had now six years and longer worn the crown of Juda, and had found neither any foreign enemy nor domestical adversary to disturb her possession, suddenly the period of her glory and reward of her wickedness meeting together, took her away without any warning, by a violent and shameful death. For the growth of the young prince began to be such, as permitted him no longer to be concealed; and it had been very unfitting that his education

should be simple, to make him seem the child of some poor man, (as for his safety it was requisite,) when his capacity required to have been endued with the stomach and qualities meet for a king. All this Jehoiada the priest considered, and withal the great increase of impiety, which, taking deep root in the court, was likely to spread itself over all the country, if care were not used to weed it up very speedily. Wherefore he associated unto himself five of the captains, in whose fidelity he had best assurance, and having taken an oath of them, and shewed them the king's son, he made a covenant with them to advance him to the kingdom. These drew in others of the principal men to countenance the action, procuring at the first only that they should repair to Jerusalem, where they were further acquainted with the whole matter. There needed not many persuasions to win them to the business: the promise of the Lord unto the house of David was enough to assure them, that the action was both lawful and likely to succeed as they desired.

But in compassing their intent, some difficulties appeared. For it was not to be hoped that with open force they should bring their purpose to good issue; neither were the captains, and other associates of Jehoiada, able by close working to draw together so many trusty and serviceable hands as would suffice to manage the business. To help in this case, the priest gave order to such of the Levites as had finished their courses in waiting on the divine service at the temple, and were now relieved by others that succeeded in their turns, that they should not depart until they knew his further pleasure. So by admitting the new comers, and not discharging the old, he had, without any noise, made up such a number as would be able to deal with the queen's ordinary guard, and that was enough; for if the tyranness did not prevail against them at the first brunt, the favour of the people was like to shew itself on their side who made head against her. These Levites were placed in the inner court of the temple, about the person of the king, who as yet was kept close; the followers of the captains, and other adherents were bestowed in the outer courts: as for wea-

pons, the temple itself had store enough; king David had left an armoury to the place, which was now employed in defence of his issue.

All things being in a readiness, and the day come wherein this high design was to be put in execution, Jehoiada delivered unto the captains armour for them and their adherents, appointed a guard unto the king's person, produced him openly, and gave unto him the crown; using all ceremonies accustomed in such solemnities, with great applause of the people. Of these doings the queen was the last that heard any word, which is not so strange as it may seem; for insolent natures, by dealing outrageously with such as bring them ill tidings, do commonly lose the benefit of hearing what is to be feared whilst yet it may be prevented, and have no information of danger till their own eyes, amazed with the suddenness, behold it in the shape of inevitable mischief.

All Jerusalem was full of the rumour, and entertained it with very good liking. Some carried home the news, others ran forth to see, and the common joy was so great, that without apprehension of peril, under the windows of the court were the people running and praising the king. [n] Athaliah hearing and beholding the extraordinary concourse and noise of folks in the streets, making towards the temple with much unusual passion in their looks, did presently conceive that somewhat worthy of her care was happened; though what it might be she did not apprehend. Howsoever it were, she meant to use her own wisdom in looking into the matter, and ordering all as the occasion might happen to require. It may be, that she thought it some especial solemnity used in the divine service, which caused this much ado; and hereof the unaccustomed number of Levites, and of other devout men about the town, might give some presumption.

Many things argue that she little thought upon her own tragedy; although Josephus would make it seem otherwise. For we find in the text, [o] *she came to the people into the*

[n] 2 Chron. xxiii. 12. [o] 2 Chron. xxiii. 12, 13. 2 Kings xi. 13, 14.

house of the Lord, (which was near to her palace,) and that when she looked and saw the king stand by his pillar, as the manner was, with the princes or great men of the land by him, and the trumpeters proclaiming him, she rent her clothes, and cried, Treason! Treason! Hereby it appears, that she was quietly going, without any mistrust or fear, to take her place, which when she found occupied by another, then she begun to afflict herself, as one cast away, and cried out in vain upon the treason whereby she saw that she must perish. But that she came with a guard of armed men to the temple, (as Josephus reporteth,) and that her company being beaten back she entered alone, and commanded the people to kill the young tyrant, I find nowhere in scripture, neither do I hold it credible. For had she truly known how things went, she would surely have gathered her friends about her, and used those forces in defence of her crown by which she gat it, and hitherto had held it. Certainly, if it were granted that she, like a new Semiramis, did march in the head of her troop, yet it had been mere madness in her to enter the place alone, when her assistants were kept out; but if she, perceiving that neither her authority nor their own weapons could prevail to let in her guard, would nevertheless take upon her to command the death of the new king, calling a child of seven years old a conspirator, and bidding them to kill him whom she saw to be armed in his defence, may we not think that she was mad in the most extreme degree? Certain it is, that the counsel of God would have taken effect in her destruction, had she used the most likely means to disappoint it: yet we need not so cut her throat with any moral impossibilities. It is enough to say, that the godly zeal of Jehoiada found more easy success through her indiscretion, than otherwise could have been expected; so that at his appointment she was without more ado carried out of the temple and slain; yea so, that no blood save her own was shed in that quarrel; her small train, that she brought along with her, not daring to stand in her defence.

SECT. VIII.

The death of Athaliah, with a comparison of her and Jezabel.

MOST like it is, that Athaliah had many times, with great indignation, bewailed the rashness of her nephew Jehoram the Israelite, who did foolishly cast himself into the very throat of danger, gaping upon him, only through his eager desire of quickly knowing what the matter meant: yet she herself, by the like bait, was taken in the like trap, and having lived such a life as Jezabel had done, was rewarded with a suitable death. These two queens were in many points much alike, each of them was daughter, wife, and mother to a king; each of them ruled her husband; was an idolatress and a murderess. The only difference appearing in their conditions is, that Jezabel is more noted as incontinent of body, Athaliah as ambitious; so that each of them surviving her husband about eight years, did spend the time in satisfying her own affections; the one using tyranny, as the exercise of her haughty mind; the other painting her face, for the ornament of her unchaste body. In the manner of their death, little difference there was, or in those things which may seem in this world to pertain unto the dead when they are gone. Each of them was taken on the sudden by conspirators, and each of them exclaiming upon the treason, received sentence from the mouth of one that had lived under her subjection; in execution whereof, Jezabel was trampled under the feet of her enemies' horses; Athaliah slain at her own horse-gate; the death of Athaliah having (though not much) the more leisure to vex her proud heart; that of Jezabel, the more indignity and shame of body. Touching their burial, Jezabel was devoured by dogs, as the Lord had threatened by the prophet Elias; what became of Athaliah we do not find. Like enough it is, that she was buried, as having not persecuted and slain the Lord's prophets, but suffered the priests to exercise their function; yet of her burial there is no monument; for she was a church-robber. The service of Baal, erected by these two queens, was destroyed as soon as they were gone; and their chaplains, the priests of that religion, slain. Herein

also it came to pass alike, as touching them both when they were dead; the kings who slew them were afterwards afflicted, both of them by the same hand of Hazael the Syrian; in which point Athaliah had the greater honour, if the Syrian (who seems to have been her good friend) pretended her revenge, as any part of his quarrel to Juda. Concerning children, all belonging to Jezabel perished in few days after her: whether Athaliah left any behind her, it is uncertain; she had sons living after she was queen; of whom, or of any other, that they were slain with her, we do not find.

This is a matter not unworthy of consideration, in regard of much that may depend upon it. For if the children of Athaliah had been in Jerusalem when their mother fell, their death would surely have followed hers as nearly, and been registered as well as the death of Mattan the priest of Baal. That law, by which [p] *God forbade that the children should die for the fathers*, could not have saved these ungracious imps, whom the clause following would have cut off, which commands that every man shall die for his own sin. Seeing therefore that they had been professors and advancers of that vile and idolatrous worship of Baal, yea had robbed the temple of the Lord, and enriched the house of Baal with the spoil of it; likely it is, that they should not have escaped with life, if Jehoiada the priest could have gotten them into his hands. As there was lawful cause enough requiring their death, so the security of the king and his friends, that is, of all the land, craved as much, and that very earnestly. For these had been esteemed as heirs of their mother's crown, and being reckoned as her assistants in that particular business of robbing the temple, may be thought to have carried a great sway in other matters, as princes and fellows with their mother in the kingdom. Therefore it is evident, that either they were now dead, or (perhaps following Hazael in the wars against Jehu) absent from Jerusalem; whereby Jehoiada might

[p] Deut. xxiv. 16.

with the more confidence adventure to take arms against their mother, that was desolate.

CHAP. XXII.

Of Joash and Amasia, with their contemporaries; where somewhat of the building of Carthage.

SECT. I.

Of Joash's doings whilst Jehoiada the priest lived.

BY the death of Athaliah the whole country of Juda was filled with great joy and quietness; wherein Joash, a child of seven years old or thereabout, began his reign, which continued almost forty years. During his minority, he lived under the protection of that honourable man Jehoiada the priest, who did as faithfully govern the kingdom, as he had before carefully preserved the king's life, and restored him unto the throne of his ancestors. When he came to man's estate, he took by appointment of Jehoiada two wives, and begat sons and daughters, repairing the family of David which was almost worn out. The first act that he took in hand, when he began to rule without a protector, was the reparation of the temple. It was a needful piece of work, in regard of the decay wherein that holy place was fallen through the wickedness of ungodly tyrants; and requisite it was that he should uphold the temple, whom the temple had upheld. This business he followed with so earnest a zeal, that not only the Levites were more slack than he, but even Jehoiada was fain to be quickened by his admonition. Money was gathered for the charges of the work, partly out of the tax imposed by [q] Moses, partly out of the liberality of the people, who gave so freely, that the temple, besides all reparations, was enriched with vessels of gold and silver, and with all other utensils. The sacrifices

[q] 2 Chron. xxiv.

likewise were offered, as under godly kings they had been, and the service of God was magnificently celebrated.

SECT. II.

The death of Jehoiada, and apostasy of Joash.

BUT this endured no longer than the life of Jehoiada the priest; who having lived an hundred and thirty years, died before his country could have spared him. He was buried among the kings of Juda, as he well deserved, having preserved the race of them, and restored the true religion, which the late princes of that house, by attempting to eradicate, failed but a little of rooting up themselves and all their issue. Yet his honourable funeral seems to have been given to him at the motion of the people; it being said, *they buried him in the city of David.* As for the king himself, who did owe to him no less than his crown and life, he is not likely to have been author of it, seeing that he was as easily comforted after his death, as if he had thereby been discharged of some heavy debt.

For after the death of Jehoiada, when the princes of Juda began to flatter their king, he soon forgat, not only the benefits received by this worthy man, his old counsellor, but also the good precepts which he had received from him, yea and God himself, the Author of all goodness. These princes drew him to the worship of idols, wherewith Jehoram and Athaliah had so infected the country in fifteen or sixteen years, that thirty years or thereabout of the reign of Joash, wherein the true religion was exercised, were not able to clear it from that mischief. The king himself, when once he was entered into these courses, ran on headlong, as one that thought it a token of his liberty to despise the service of God; and a manifest proof of his being now king indeed, that he regarded no longer the sour admonitions of devout priests. Hereby it appears, that his former zeal was only counterfeited, wherein, like an actor upon the stage, he had striven to express much more lively affection than they could shew that were indeed religious.

SECT. III.

The causes and time of the Syrians invading Juda in the days of Joash.

BUT God, from whom he was broken loose, gave him over into the hands of men that would not easily be shaken off. Hazael, king of Aram, having taken Gath, a town of the Philistines, addressed himself towards Jerusalem, whither the little distance of way, and great hope of a rich booty, did invite him. He had an army heartened by many victories to hope for more; and for ground of the war, (if his ambition cared for pretences,) it was enough that the kings of Juda had assisted the Israelites, in their enterprises upon Aram, at Ramoth Gilead. Yet I think he did not want some further instigation. For if the kingdom of Juda had molested the Aramites, in the time of his predecessor, this was throughly recompensed by forbearing to succour Israel, and leaving the ten tribes in their extreme misery, to the fury of Hazael himself. Neither is it likely that Hazael should have gone about to awake a sleeping dog, and stir up against himself a powerful enemy, before he had assured the conquest of Israel, that lay between Jerusalem and his own kingdom, if some opportunity had not promised such easy and good success, as might rather advance, than any way disturb, his future proceedings against the ten tribes. Wherefore I hold it probable, that the sons of Athaliah, mentioned before, were with him in this action, promising (as men expelled their countries usually do) to draw many partakers of their own to his side; and not to remain, as Joash did, a neutral in the war between him and Israel, but to join all their forces with his, as they had cause, for the rooting out of Jehu's posterity, who, like a bloody traitor, had utterly destroyed all the kindred of the queen's, their mother, even the whole house of Ahab, to which he was a subject. If this were so, Hazael had the more apparent reason to invade the kingdom of Juda. Howsoever it were, we find it plainly that Joash was afraid of him, and therefore [r] *took all the hallowed things, and all*

[r] 2 Kings xii. 18.

the gold that was found in the treasures of the house of the Lord, or in his own house, with which present he redeemed his peace: the Syrian (questionless) thinking it a better bargain to get so much readily paid into his hand for nothing, than to hazard the assurance of this, for the possibility of not much more. So Hazael departed with a rich booty of unhappy treasure, which, belonging to the living God, remained a small while in the possession of this mighty, yet corruptible man, but sent him quickly to the grave. For in the thirty-seventh year of Joash, which was the fifteenth of Jehoahaz, he made this purchase; but in the same or the very next year he died, leaving all that he had unto his son Benhadad, with whom these treasures prospered none otherwise than ill-gotten goods are wont.

This enterprise of Hazael is by some confounded with that war of the Aramites upon Juda mentioned in the second book of Chronicles. But the reasons alleged by them that hold the contrary opinion do forcibly prove that it was not all one war. For the former was compounded without bloodshed or fight; in the latter, Joash tried the fortune of a battle, wherein being put to the worst, he lost all his princes, and hardly escaped with life: in the one, Hazael himself was present; in the other, he was not named: but contrariwise, the king of Aram then reigning (who may seem to have then been the son of Hazael) is said to have been at Damascus. The first army came to conquer, and was so great that it terrified the king of Juda; the second was a [s] *small company of men*, which did animate Joash (in vain, for God was against him) to deal with them, as having *a very great army*.

Now concerning the time of this former invasion, I cannot perceive that God forsook him, till he had first forsaken God. There are indeed some, very learned, who think that this expedition of Hazael was in the time of Jehoiada the priest, because that story is joined unto the restauration of the temple. This had been probable, if the death of Jehoiada had been afterwards mentioned in that place of the second

[s] 2 Chron. xxiv. 24.

book of Kings, or if the apostasy of Joash, or any other matter implying so much, had followed in the relation. For it is not indeed to be doubted, that the Lord of all may dispose of all things according to his own will and pleasure; neither was he more unjust in the afflictions of Job, that righteous man, or the death of Josias, that godly king, than in the plagues which he laid upon Pharaoh, or his judgments upon the house of Ahab. But it appears plainly that the rich furniture of the temple, and the magnificent service of God therewithal, which are joined together, were used [t] *in the house of the Lord continually, all the days of Jehoiada;* soon after whose death, if not immediately upon it, that is (as some very learnedly collect) in the thirty-sixth or thirty-seventh year of this Joash's reign, the king falling away from the God of his father, became a foul idolater.

And indeed we commonly observe, that the crosses which it hath pleased God sometimes to lay upon his servants, without any cause notorious in the eyes of men, have always tended unto the bettering of their good. In which respect, even the sufferings of the blessed martyrs ([u] *the death of his saints being precious in the sight of the Lord*) are to their great advantage. But with evil and rebellious men, God keepeth a more even and more strict account; permitting usually their faults to get the start of their punishment, and either delaying his vengeance (as with the Amorites) till their wickedness be full; or not working their amendment by his correction, but suffering them to run on in their wicked courses to their greater misery. So hath he dealt with many; and so it appears that he dealt with Joash. For this unhappy man did not only continue an obstinate idolater, but grew so forgetful of God and all goodness, as if he had striven to exceed the wickedness of all that went before him, and to leave such a villainous pattern unto others, as few or none of the most barbarous tyrants should endure to imitate.

[t] 2 Chron. xxiv. 14. [u] Psalm cxv. 15.

SECT. IV.

How Zacharia was murdered by Joash.

SUNDRY prophets having laboured in vain to reclaim the people from their superstition, Zacharia, the son of Jehoiada the priest, was stirred up at length by the Spirit of God to admonish them of their wickedness, and make them understand the punishment due unto it, whereof they stood in danger. This Zacharia was a man so honourable, and son to a man so exceeding beloved in his lifetime, and reverenced, that if Joash had reputed him (as Ahab did Elias) his open enemy, yet ought he in common honesty to have cloaked his ill affection, and have used at least some part of the respect that was due to such a person: on the other side, the singular affection which he and his father had borne unto the king, and the unrecountable benefits which they had done unto him, from his first infancy, were such, as should have placed Zacharia in the most hearty and assured love of Joash, yea though he had been otherwise a man of very small mark, and not very good condition. The truth is, that the message of a prophet sent from God should be heard with reverence, how simple soever he appears that brings it. But this king Joash having already scorned the admonitions and protestations of such prophets as first were sent, did now deal with Zacharia, like as the wicked husbandman, in that parable of our Saviour, dealt with the heir of the vineyard; who said, [x] *This is the heir: come, let us kill him, that the inheritance may be ours.* By killing Zacharia he thought to become an absolute commander, supposing belike that he was no free prince, as long as any one durst tell him the plain truth, how great soever that man's deserving were that did so, yea, though God's commandment required it. So they conspired against this holy prophet, and stoned him to death at the king's appointment; but whether by any form of open law, as was practised upon Naboth; or whether surprising him by any close treachery, I do neither read nor can conjecture. The

[x] Luke xx. 14.

dignity of his person, considered together with their treacherous conspiracy, makes it probable that they durst not call him into public judgment; though the manner of his death being such as was commonly, by order of law, inflicted upon malefactors, may argue the contrary. Most likely it is, that the king's commandment, by which he suffered, took place instead of law: which exercise of mere power (as hath been already noted) was nothing strange among the kings of Juda.

SECT. V.

How Joash was shamefully beaten by the Aramites, and of his death.

THIS odious murder, committed by an unthankful snake upon the man in whose bosom he had been fostered, as of itself alone it sufficed to make the wretched tyrant hateful to men of his own time, and his memory detested in all ages; so had it the well-deserved curse of the blessed martyr, to accompany it unto the throne of God, and to call for vengeance from thence, which fell down swiftly and heavily upon the head of that ungrateful monster. It was the last year of his reign; the end of his time coming then upon him, when he thought himself beginning to live how he listed, without controlment. When that year was expired, the Aramites came into the country, rather as may seem to get pillage than to perform any great action; for they [y] *came with a small company of men;* but God had intended to do more by them than they themselves did hope for.

That Joash naturally was a coward, his bloody malice against his best friend is, in my judgment, proof sufficient: though otherwise his base composition with Hazael, when he might have levied (as his son after him did muster) three hundred thousand chosen men for the war, doth well enough shew his temper. Yet now he would needs be valiant, and make his people know how stout of disposition their king was, when he might have his own will. But his timorous heart was not well cloaked. For to encounter with a few bands of rovers, he took a very great army; so that

[y] 2 Chron. xxiv. 24.

wise men might well perceive that he knew what he did, making show as if he would fight for his country, and expose his person to danger of war, when as indeed all was mere ostentation, and no peril to be feared; he going forth so strongly appointed against so weak enemies. Thus might wise men think and laugh at him in secret, considering what ado he made about that, which in all apparent reason was (as they say) a thing of nothing. But God, before whom the wisdom of this world is foolishness, did laugh, not only at this vain-glorious king, but at them that thought their king secure, by reason of the multitude that he drew along with him.

When the Aramites and king Joash met, whether it were by some folly of the leaders, or by some amazement happening among the soldiers, or by whatsoever means it pleased God to work, so it was, that that great army of Juda received a notable overthrow, and all the princes were destroyed; the princes of Juda, at whose persuasion the king had become a rebel to the King of kings. As for Joash himself, (as Abulensis and others expound the story,) he was sorely beaten and hurt by them, being (as they think) taken, and shamefully tormented, to wring out of him an excessive ransom.

And surely all circumstances do greatly strengthen this conjecture. For the text (in the old translation) saith, they exercised upon Joash ignominious judgments; and that departing from him, they dismissed him in great languor. All which argues, that they had him in their hands, and handled him ill-favouredly. Now at that time Joas the son of Jehoahaz reigned over Israel, and Benhadad the son of Hazael over the Syrians in Damascus; the one a valiant undertaking prince, raised up by God to restore the state of his miserable country; the other inferior every way to his father, of whose purchases he lost a great part, for want of skill to keep it. The difference in condition found between these two princes, promising no other event than such as after followed, might have given to the king of Juda good cause to be bold, and pluck up his spirits, which Hazael

had beaten down, if God had not been against him. But his fearful heart being likely to quake upon any apprehension of danger, was able to put the Syrian king in hope, that by terrifying him with some show of war at his doors, it were easy to make him crave any tolerable conditions of peace. The unexpected good success hereof, already related, and the (perhaps as unexpected) ill success, which the Aramites found in their following wars against the king of Israel, sheweth plainly the weakness of all earthly might resisting the power of the Almighty. For by his ordinance, both the kingdom of Juda, after more than forty years time of gathering strength, was unable to drive out a small company of enemies; and the kingdom of Israel, having so been trodden down by Hazael, that only fifty horsemen, ten chariots, and ten thousand footmen were left, prevailed against his son, and recovered all from the victorious Aramites. But examples hereof are everywhere found, and therefore I will not insist upon this; though indeed we should not, if we be God's children, think it more tedious to hear long and frequent reports of our heavenly Father's honour, than of the noble acts performed by our forefathers upon earth.

When the Aramites had what they listed, and saw that they were not able, being so few, to take any possession of the country, they departed out of Juda loaden with spoil, which they sent to Damascus, themselves belike falling upon the ten tribes, where it is to be thought that they sped not half so well. The king of Juda being in ill case was killed on his bed when he came home, by the sons of an Ammonitess and of a Moabitess, whom some (because only their mothers names, being strangers, are expressed) think to have been bondmen. Whether it were contempt of his fortune, or fear lest (as tyrants use) he should revenge his disaster upon them, imputing it to their fault, or whatsoever else it were that animated them to murder their king, the scripture tells us plainly, that [z] *for the blood of the children of Jehoiada* this befell him. And the same ap-

[z] 2 Chron. xxiv. 25.

pears to have been used as the pretence of their conspiracy, in excuse of the fact when it was done. For Amaziah, the son and successor of Joash, durst not punish them till his kingdom was established; but contrariwise, his body was judged unworthy of burial in the sepulchres of the kings; whereby it appears, that the death of Zachariah caused the treason, wrought against the king, to find more approbation than was requisite among the people, though afterwards it was recompensed by his son, upon the traitors, with well-deserved death.

SECT. VI.

Of the princes living in the time of Joash; of the time when Carthage was built; and of Dido.

THERE lived with Joash, Mezades and Diognetus in Athens; Eudemus and Aristomedes in Corinth: about which time Agrippa Sylvius, and after him Sylvius Alladius, were kings of the Albans in Italy. Ocrazapes, commonly called Anacyndaraxes, the thirty-seventh king succeeding unto Ophratanes, began his reign over the Assyrians about the eighteenth year of Joash, which lasted forty-two years. In the sixteenth of Joash, Cephrenes, the fourth from Sesac, succeeded unto Cheops in the kingdom of Egypt, and held it fifty years.

In this time of Joash was likewise the reign of Pygmalion in Tyre, and the foundation of Carthage by Dido; the building of which city is, by divers authors, placed in divers ages, some reporting it to be seventy years younger than Rome, others above four hundred years elder, few or none of them giving any reason of their assertions, but leaving us uncertain whom to follow: [a] Josephus, who had read the annals of Tyre, counting one hundred forty and three years and eight months from the building of Salomon's temple, in the twelfth year of Hyram king of Tyre, to the founding of Carthage by Dido, in the seventh of Pygmalion. The particulars of this account (which is not rare in Josephus) are very perplexed, and serve not very well to make clear the total sum. But whether it were so

[a] Joseph. cont. App. lib. 1.

that Josephus did omit, or else that he did miswrite some number of the years, which he reckoneth in fractions, as they were divided among the kings of Tyre, from Hyram to Pygmalion; we may well enough believe, that the Tyrian writers, out of whose books he gives us the whole sum, had good means to know the truth, and could rightly reckon the difference of time between two works no longer following one the other, than the memory of three or four generations might easily reach. This hundred forty and four years current, after the building of Salomon's temple, being the eleventh year of Joash, was a hundred forty and three years before the birth of Rome, and after the destruction of Troy two hundred eighty and nine: a time so long after the death of Æneas, that we might truly conclude all to be fabulous which Virgil hath written of Dido, as Ausonius noteth, who doth honour her statue with this epigram.

[b] *Illa ego sum Dido vultu quam conspicis hospes,*
Assimulata modis pulchraque mirificis.
Talis eram, sed non Maro quam mihi finxit, erat mens,
Vita nec incestis læta cupidinibus.
(Namque nec Æneas vidit me Troius unquam,
Nec Libyam advenit, classibus Iliacis:
Sed furias fugiens, atque arma procacis Iarbæ,
Servavi, fateor, morte pudicitiam;
Pectore transfixo, castos quod pertulit enses:)
Non furor, aut læso crudus amore dolor.
Sic cecidisse juvat: vixi sine vulnere famæ,
Ulta virum, positis mœnibus oppetii.
Invida cur in me stimulâsti Musa Maronem,
Fingeret ut nostræ damna pudicitiæ?
Vos magis historicis, lectores, credite de me,
Quam qui furta deûm concubitusque canunt.
Falsidici vates, temerant qui carmine verum,
Humanisque deos assimulant vitiis.

Which in effect is this:

I am that Dido which thou here dost see,
Cunningly framed in beauteous imagery.

[b] Auson. Ep. 117.

Like this I was, but had not such a soul
As Maro feign'd, incestuous and foul.
Æneas never with his Trojan host
Beheld my face, or landed on this coast:
But flying proud Iarba's villany,
Not mov'd by furious love or jealousy,
I did with weapon chaste, to save my fame,
Make way for death untimely, ere it came.
This was my end; but first I built a town,
Reveng'd my husband's death, liv'd with renown.
Why did'st thou stir up Virgil, envious muse,
Falsely my name and honour to abuse?
Readers, believe historians; not those
Which to the world Jove's thefts and vice expose.
Poets are liars, and for verses sake
Will make the gods of human crimes partake.

From the time of Dido unto the first Punic war, that Carthage grew and flourished in wealth and conquests, we find in many histories: but in particular we find little of the Carthaginian affairs before that war, excepting those few things that are recorded of their attempts upon the isle of Sicily. We will therefore defer the relation of matters concerning that mighty city, until such time as they shall encounter with the state of Rome, by which it was finally destroyed, and prosecute in the mean while the history that is now in hand.

SECT. VII.

The beginning of Amaziah's reign. Of Joash king of Israel, and Elisha the prophet.

AMAZIAH, the son of Joash, being twenty-five years old when his father died, took possession of the kingdom of Juda, wherein he laboured so to demean himself, as his new beginning reign might be least offensive. The law of Moses he professed to observe; which howsoever it had been secretly despised since the time of Jehoram, by many great persons of the land, yet had it, by provision of good princes, yea and of bad ones (in their best times) imitating the good, but especially by the care of holy priests, taken

such deep root in the people's hearts, that no king might hope to be very plausible, who did not conform himself unto it. And at that present time, the slaughter, which the Aramites had made of all the princes, who had withdrawn the late king from the service of God, being seconded by the death of the king himself, even whilst that execrable murder, committed by the king upon Zechariah, was yet fresh in memory, did serve as a notable example of God's justice against idolaters, both to animate the better sort of the people in holding the religion of their fathers, and to discourage Amaziah from following the way which led to such an evil end. He therefore, having learned of his father the art of dissimulation, did not only forbear to punish the traitors that had slain king Joash, but gave way to the time, and suffered the dead body to be interred, as that of Jehoram formerly had been, in the city of David, yet not among the sepulchres of the kings of Juda. Nevertheless after this, when (belike) the noise of the people having wearied itself into silence, it was found that the conspirators (howsoever their deed done was applauded as the handywork of GOD) had neither any mighty partakers in their fact, nor strong maintainers of their persons, but rested secure, as having done well, seeing it was not ill taken; the king, who perceived his government well established, called them into question, at such a time as the heat of men's affections, being well allayed, it was easy to distinguish between their treasons and God's judgments, which, by their treasons, had taken plausible effect. So they were put to death without any tumult, and their children (as the law did require) were suffered to live; which could not but give contentment to the people, seeing that their king did the office of a just prince, rather than of a revenging son. This being done, and his own life the better secured, by such exemplary justice, against the like attempts; Amaziah carried himself outwardly as a prince well affected to religion, and so continued in rest about twelve or thirteen years.

As Amaziah gathered strength in Juda by the commodity of a long peace, so Joash the Israelite grew as fast in power

by following the war hotly against the Aramites. He was a valiant and fortunate prince, yet an idolater, as his predecessors had been, worshipping the calves of Jeroboam. For this sin had God so plagued the house of Jehu, that the ten tribes wanted little of being utterly consumed by Hazael and Benhadad, in the time of Jehu and his son Jehoahaz. But as God's benefits to Jehu sufficed not to withdraw him from this politic idolatry, so were the miseries rewarding that impiety unable to reclaim Jehoahaz from the same impious course; yet the mercy of God beholding the trouble of Israel, condescended unto the prayers of this ungodly prince, even then when he and his miserable subjects were obstinate in following their own abominable ways. Therefore in temporal matters the ten tribes recovered apace, but the favour of God, which had been infinitely more worth, I do not find nor believe that they sought; that they had it not, I find in the words of the prophet, saying plainly to Amaziah, [c] *The Lord is not with Israel, neither with all the house of Ephraim.*

Whether it were so that the great prophet Elisha, who lived in those times, did foretell the prosperity of the Israelites under the reign of Joash; or whether Jehoahaz, wearied and broken with long adversity, thought it the wisest way to discharge himself in part of the heavy cares attending those unhappy Syrian wars, by laying the burden upon his hopeful son; we find, that [d] *in the thirty-seventh year of Joash king of Juda Joash the son of Jehoahaz began to reign over Israel in Samaria*, which was in the fifteenth of his father's reign, and some two or three years before his death.

It appears that this young prince, even from the beginning of his rule, did so well husband that poor stock which he received from his father, of ten chariots, fifty horsemen, and ten thousand foot, that he might seem likely to prove a thriver. Among other circumstances, the words which he spake to Elisha the prophet argue no less. For Joash visiting the prophet, who lay sick, spake unto him thus: [e] *O*

[c] 2 Chron. xxv. 7. [d] 2 Kings xiii. 10. [e] 2 Kings xiii. 14.

my father, my father, the chariot of Israel, and the horsemen of the same: by which manner of speech he did acknowledge that the prayers of this holy man had stood his kingdom in more stead than all the horses and chariots could do.

This prophet, who succeeded unto Elias about the first year of Jehoram the son of Ahab king of Israel, died (as some have probably collected) about the third or fourth year of this Joash, the nephew of Jehu. To shew how the spirit of Elias was doubled, or did rest upon him, it exceedeth my faculty. This is recorded of him, that he did not only raise a dead child unto life, as Elias had done, but when he himself was dead, it pleased God that his dead bones should restore life unto a carcass which touched them in the grave. In fine, he bestowed, as a legacy, three victories upon king Joash, who thereby did set Israel in a fair way of recovering all that the Aramites had usurped, and weakening the kings of Damascus in such sort, that they were never after terrible to Samaria.

SECT. VIII.

Of Amazia's war against Edom; his apostasy, and overthrow by Joash.

THE happy success which Joash had found in his war against the Aramites, was such as might kindle in Amaziah a desire of undertaking some expedition, wherein himself might purchase the like honour. His kingdom could furnish three hundred thousand serviceable men for the wars; and his treasures were sufficient for the payment of these and the hire of many more. Cause of war he had very just against the Edomites, who having rebelled in the time of his grandfather Jehoram, had about fifty years been unreclaimed; partly by means of the troubles happening in Juda, partly through the sloth and timorousness of his father Joash. Yet, forasmuch as the men of Juda had in many years been without all exercise of war, (excepting that unhappy fight wherein they were beaten by a few bands of the Aramites,) he held it a point of wisdom to

increase his forces with soldiers waged out of Israel, whence he hired for an hundred talents of silver [f] *an hundred thousand valiant men*, as the scripture telleth us, though [g] Josephus diminish the number, saying, that they were but twenty thousand.

This great army, which with so much cost Amaziah had hired out of Israel, he was fain to dismiss before he had employed it, being threatened by a prophet with ill success if he strengthened himself with the help of those men whom God (though in mercy he gave them victory against the cruel Aramites) did not love, because they were idolaters. The Israelites therefore departed in great anger, taking in ill part this dismission, as an high disgrace; which to revenge, they fell upon a piece of Juda in their return, and shewed their malice in the slaughter of three thousand men, and some spoil, which they carried away. But Amaziah with his own forces, knowing that God would be assistant to their journey, entered courageously into the Edomites country; over whom obtaining victory, he slew ten thousand, and took other ten thousand prisoners, all which he threw from an high rock; holding them, it seems, rather as traitors than as just enemies. This victory did not seem to reduce Edom under the subjection of the crown of Juda, which might be the cause of that severity which was used to the prisoners; the Edomites that had escaped, refusing to buy the lives of their friends and kinsmen at so dear a rate as the loss of their own liberty. Some towns in mount Seir Amaziah took, as appears by his carrying away the idols thence; but it is like they were the places most indefensible, in that he left no garrisons there, whereby he might another year the better have pursued the conquest of the whole country. Howsoever it were, he got both honour by the journey and gains enough, had he not lost himself.

Among other spoils of the Edomites were carried away their gods, which being vanquished and taken prisoners, did deserve well to be led in triumph. But they contrariwise, I know not by what strange witchcraft, so besotted

[f] 2 Chron xxv. 6. [g] Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. 9. cap. 10.

this unworthy king Amaziah, that he [h] *set them up to be his gods, and worshipped them, and burnt incense unto them.*

For this when he was rebuked by a prophet sent from God, he gave a churlish and threatening answer; asking the prophet, who made him a counsellor, and bidding him hold his peace for fear of the worst. If either the costly stuff whereof these idols were made, or the curious workmanship and beauty with which they were adorned by artificers, had ravished the king's fancy, methinks he should have rather turned them to matter of profit, or kept them as household ornaments and things of pleasure, than thereby have suffered himself to be blinded with such unreasonable devotion towards them. If the superstitious account wherein the Edomites had held them were able to work much upon his imagination, much more should the bad service which they had done to their old clients have moved him thereupon to laugh both at the Edomites and them. Wherefore it seems to me, that the same affections carried him from God unto the service of idols, which afterwards moved him to talk so roughly to the prophet reprehending him. He had already obeyed the warning of God by a prophet, and sent away such auxiliary forces as he had gathered out of Israel; which done, it is said that he [i] *was encouraged, and led forth his people*, thinking belike that God would now rather assist him by miracle, than let him fail of obtaining all his heart's desire. But with better reason he should have limited his desires by the will of God, whose pleasure it was that Esau, having broken the yoke of Jacob from his neck, accordingly as Isaac had foretold, should no more become his servant. If therefore Amaziah did hope to reconquer all the country of Edom, he failed of his expectation; yet so, that he brought home both profit and honour, which might have well contented him.

But there is a foolish and a wretched pride, wherewith men being transported can ill endure to ascribe unto God the honour of those actions in which it hath pleased him to use their own industry, courage, or foresight. Therefore it

[h] 2 Chron. xxv. 14. [i] 2 Chron. xxv. 11.

is commonly seen, that they, who, entering into battle, are careful to pray for aid from heaven, with due acknowledgment of his power who is the giver of victory, when the field is won, do vaunt of their own exploits: one telling how he got such a ground of advantage; another, how he gave check to such a battalion; a third, how he seized on the enemies' cannon; every one striving to magnify himself, whilst all forget God, as one that had not been present in the action. To ascribe to fortune the effects of another man's virtue, is, I confess, an argument of malice. Yet this is true, that as he, which findeth better success than he did or in reason might expect, is deeply bound to acknowledge God the author of his happiness; so he, whose mere wisdom and labour hath brought things to a prosperous issue, is doubly bound to shew himself thankful both for the victory and for those virtues by which the victory was gotten. And indeed, so far from weakness is the nature of such thanksgiving, that it may well be called the height of magnanimity; no virtue being so truly heroical as that by which the spirit of a man advanceth itself with confidence of acceptation unto the love of God. In which sense it is a brave speech that Evander in Virgil useth to Æneas, none but a Christian being capable of the admonition:

Aude hospes contemnere opes, et te quoque dignum
Finge Deo.

With this philosophy Amaziah (as appears by his carriage) troubled not his head: he had shewed himself a better man of war than any king of Juda since the time of Jehoshaphat, and could be well contented that his people should think him little inferior to David; of which honour he saw no reason why the prophets should rob him, who had made him lose an hundred talents, and done him no pleasure, he having prevailed by plain force and good conduct, without any miracle at all. That he was distempered with such vain thoughts as these, (besides the witness of his impiety following,) [k]Josephus doth testify, saying, that he despised God, and that being puffed up with his good success, of

[k] Joseph. Ant. l. 9. c. 10.

which nevertheless he would not acknowledge God to be the author, he commanded Joash king of Israel to become his subject, and to let the ten tribes acknowledge him their sovereign, as they had done his ancestors king David and king Salomon. Some think that his quarrel to Joash was rather grounded upon the injury done to him by the Israelites, whom he dismissed in the journey against mount Seir. And likely it is, that the sense of a late wrong had more power to stir him up, than the remembrance of an old title, forgotten long since, and by himself neglected thirteen or fourteen years. Nevertheless it might so be, that when he was thus provoked, he thought it not enough to requite new wrongs, but would also call old matters into question; that so the kings of Israel might at the least learn to keep their subjects from offending Juda, for fear of endangering their own crowns. Had Amaziah desired only recompense for the injury done to him, it is not improbable that he should have had some reasonable answer from Joash, who was not desirous to fight with him. But the answer which Joash returned, likening himself to a cedar, and Amaziah in respect of him to no better than a thistle, shews that the challenge was made in insolent terms, stuffed perhaps with such proud comparison of nobility, as might be made (according to that which Josephus hath written) between a king of ancient race and one of less nobility than virtue.

It is by [1]Sophocles reported of Ajax, that when going to the war of Troy his father did bid him to be valiant, and get victory by God's assistance, he made answer, that by God's assistance a coward could get victory, but he would get it alone without such help; after which proud speech, though he did many valiant acts, he had small thanks, and finally killing himself in a madness, whereinto he fell upon disgrace received, was hardly allowed the honour of burial. That Amaziah did utter such words, I do not find; but having once entertained the thoughts which are parents of such words, he was rewarded with success according. The very first council wherein this war was concluded serves to prove

[1] Sophocles in Ajace Lor.

that he was a wise prince indeed at Jerusalem, among his parasites, but a fool when he had to deal with his equals abroad. For it was not all one to fight with the Edomites, a weak people, trusting more in the site of their country than the valour of their soldiers, and to encounter with Joash, who from so poor beginnings had raised himself to such strength, that he was able to lend his friend a hundred thousand men, and had all his nation exercised and trained up in a long victorious war. But as Amaziah discovered much want of judgment in undertaking such a match, so in prosecuting the business, when it was set on foot, he behaved himself as a man of little experience, who, having once only tried his fortune, and found it to be good, thought that in war there was nothing else to do than send a defiance, fight, and win. Joash, on the contrary side, having been accustomed to deal with a stronger enemy than the king of Juda, used that celerity which peradventure had often stood him in good stead against the Aramite. He did not sit waiting till the enemies brake in and wasted his country, but presented himself with an army in Juda, ready to bid battle to Amaziah, and save him the labour of a long journey. This could not but greatly discourage those of Juda, who, (besides the impression of fear which an invasion beats into people not inured to the like,) having devoured, in their greedy hopes, the spoil of Israel, fully persuading themselves to get as much, and at as easy a rate, as in the journey of Edom, were so far disappointed of their expectation, that well they might suspect all new assurance of good luck when the old had thus beguiled them. All this notwithstanding, their king, that had stomach enough to challenge the patrimony of Salomon, thought, like another David, to win it by the sword. The issue of which foolhardiness might easily be foreseen in human reason, comparing together either the two kings, or the quality of their armies, or the first and ominous beginning of the war. But mere human wisdom, howsoever it might foresee much, could not have prognosticated all the mischief that fell upon Amaziah. For as soon as the two armies came in sight, God,

whose help this wretched man had so despised, did (as [m]Josephus reports it) strike such terror and amazement into the men of Juda, that without one blow given they fled all away, leaving their king to shift for himself, which he did so ill, that his enemy had soon caught him, and made him change his glorious humour into most abject baseness. That the army which fled sustained any other loss than of honour, I neither find in the scriptures nor in Josephus; it being likely that the soon beginning of their flight, which made it the more shameful, made it also the more safe. But of the mischief that followed this overthrow, it was God's will that Amaziah himself should sustain the whole disgrace. For Joash carried him directly to Jerusalem, where he bade him procure that the gates might be opened, to let him in and his army, threatening him otherwise with present death. So much amazed was the miserable caitiff with these dreadful words, that he durst do none other than persuade the citizens to yield themselves to the mercy of the conqueror. The town, which afterwards being in weaker state held out two years against Nebuchadnezzar, was utterly dismayed, when the king, that should have given his life to save it, used all his force of command and entreaty to betray it. So the gates of Jerusalem were opened to Joash, with which honour (greater than any king of Israel had ever obtained) he could not rest contented, but, the more to despite Amaziah and his people, he caused four hundred cubits of the wall to be thrown down, and entered the city in his chariot through that breach, carrying the king before him, as in triumph. This done, he sacked the temple and the king's palace, and so, taking hostages of Amaziah, he dismissed the poor creature that was glad of his life, and returned to Samaria.

SECT. IX.

A discourse of the reasons hindering Joash from uniting Juda to the crown of Israel, when he had won Jerusalem, and held Amaziah prisoner. The end of Joash's reign.

WE may justly marvel how it came to pass that Joash,

[m] Jos. Ant. l. 9. c. 10.

being thus in possession of Jerusalem, having the king in his hands, his enemies' forces broken, and his own entire, could be so contented to depart quietly with a little spoil, when he might have seized upon the whole kingdom. The reign of Athaliah had given him cause to hope that the issue of David might be dispossessed of that crown; his own nobility, being the son and grandchild of kings, together with the famous acts that he had done, were enough to make the people of Juda think highly of him; who might also have preferred his form of government before that of their own king's, especially at such a time, when a long succession of wicked princes had smothered the thanks which were due to the memory of a few good ones. The commodity that would have ensued upon the union of all the twelve tribes under one prince is so apparent, that I need not to insist on it. That any message from God forbade the Israelites (as afterwards in the victory which Peka the son of Romelia got upon Ahaz) to turn his present advantage to the best use, we do not read. All this makes it the more difficult to resolve the question, why a prince so well exercised as Joash had been, in recovering his own and winning from his enemy, should forsake the possession of Jerusalem, and wilfully neglect the possibilities, or rather cast away the full assurance of so fair a conquest as the kingdom of Juda.

But concerning that point which of all others had been most material, I mean the desire of the vanquished people to accept the Israelite for their king, it is plainly seen, that entering Jerusalem in triumphant manner, Joash was unable to concoct his own prosperity. For the opening of the gates had been enough to have let him, not only into the city, but into the royal throne, and the people's hearts, whom by fair entreaty (especially having sure means of compulsion) he might have made his own, when they saw themselves betrayed, and basely given away by him whose they had been before. The fair mark which this opportunity presented he did not aim at, because his ambition was otherwise and more meanly busied in levelling at the glory of a triumphant entry through a breach. Yet this error might after-

wards have been corrected well enough, if, entering as an enemy, and shewing what he could do by spending his anger upon the walls, he had within the city done offices of a friend, and laboured to shew good-will to the inhabitants. But when his pride had done, his covetousness began, and sought to please itself with that which is commonly most ready to the spoiler, yet should be most forborne. The treasure wherewith Sesac, Hazael, and the Philistines, men ignorant of the true God and his religion, had quenched their greedy thirst, ought not to have tempted the appetite of Joash, who, though an idolater, yet acknowledged also and worshipped the eternal God, whose temple was at Jerusalem. Therefore when the people saw him take his way directly to that holy place, and lay his ravenous hands upon the consecrated vessels, calling the family of [n]Obed Edom (whose children had hereditary charge of the treasury) to a strict account, as if they had been officers of his own exchequer, they considered him rather as an execrable church robber than as a noble prince, an Israelite, and their brother, though of another tribe. Thus following that course which the most virtuous king of our age (taxing it with the same phrase) hath wisely avoided, by stealing a few apples, he lost the inheritance of the whole orchard. The people detested him, and after the respite of a few days, might, by comparing themselves one to one, perceive his soldiers to be no better than men of their own mould, and inferior in number to the inhabitants of so great a city. It is not so easy to hold by force a mighty town entered by capitulation, as to enter the gates opened by unadvised fear. For when the citizens, not being disarmed, recover their spirits, and begin to understand their first error, they will think upon every advantage, of place, of provisions, of multitude, yea of women armed with tile-stones, and rather choose by desperate resolution to correct the evils grown out of their former cowardice, than suffer those mischiefs to poison the body, which in such half conquests are easily tasted in the mouth. A

[n] 1 Chron. xxvi. 15.

more lively example hereof cannot be desired than the city of Florence, which, through the weakness of Peter de Medices, governing therein as a prince, was reduced into such hard terms, that it opened the gates unto the French king Charles the Eighth, who, not plainly professing himself either friend or foe to the estate, entered the town with his army in triumphant manner, himself and his horse armed, with his lance upon his thigh. Many insolencies were therein committed by the French, and much argument of quarrel ministered between them and the townsmen; so far forth, that the Florentines, to preserve their liberty, were driven to prepare for fight. To conclude the matter, Charles propounds intolerable conditions, demanding huge sums of ready money, and the absolute seignory of the state, as conquered by him, who entered the city in arms. But Peter Caponi, a principal citizen, catching these articles from the king's secretary, and tearing them before his face, bade him sound his trumpets, and they would ring their bells; which peremptory words made the French bethink themselves, and come readily to this agreement, that for forty thousand pounds, and not half of that money to be paid in hand, Charles should not only depart in peace, but restore whatsoever he had of their dominion, and continue their assured friend. So dangerous a matter did it seem for that brave army, which in few months after won the kingdom of Naples, to fight in the streets against the armed multitude of that populous city. It is true that Charles had other business (and so perhaps had Joash, as shall anon be shewed) that called him away; but it was the apprehension of imminent danger that made him come to reason. In such cases the firing of houses usually draws every citizen to save his own, leaving victory to the soldier; yet where the people are prepared and resolved, women can quench as fast as the enemy, having other things to look unto, can set on fire. And indeed that commander is more given to anger than regardful of profit, who, upon the uncertain hope of destroying a town, forsakes the assurance of a good com-

position. Diversity of circumstance may alter the case: it is enough to say, that it might be in Jerusalem as we know it was in Florence.

How strongly soever Joash might hold himself within Jerusalem, he could not easily depart from thence with his booty safe, if the army of Juda, which had been more terrified than weakened in the late encounter, should reinforce itself, and give him a check upon the way. Wherefore it was wisely done of him to take hostages for his better security, his army being upon return, and better loaden than when it came forth; for which causes it was the more unapt to fight.

Besides these impediments, within the city and without, serving to cool the ambition of Joash, and keep it down from aspiring to the crown of Juda, it appears that somewhat was newly fallen out which had reference to the anger of Elisha the prophet; who, when this Joash had smitten the ground with his arrows thrice, told him that he should no oftener smite the Aramites. The three victories which Israel had against Aram, are by some, and with great probability, referred unto the fifth, sixth, and seventh years of Joash, after which time, if any losses ensuing had blemished the former good success, ill might the king of Israel have likened himself to a stately cedar, and worse could he have either lent the Judæan one hundred thousand men, or meet him in battle, who was able to bring into the field three hundred thousand of his own. Seeing therefore it is made plain by the words of Elisha, that after three victories Joash should find some change of fortune, and suffer loss; we must needs conclude, that the Aramite prevailed upon him this year, it being the last of his reign. That this was so, and that the Syrians, taking advantage of Joash's absence, gave such a blow to Israel as the king at his return was not able to remedy, but rather fell himself into new misfortunes, which increased the calamity, we may evidently perceive in that which is spoken of Jeroboam's son: for it is said, *that the Lord saw the exceeding bitter afflictions of Israel*, and that having *not decreed to put out the name of Israel*

from under the heaven, he preserved them by the hand of Jeroboam the son of Joash. This is enough to prove, that the victorious reign of Joash was concluded with a sad catastrophe; the riches of the temple hastening his misery and death, as they had done with Sesac, Athaliah, and Hazael, and as afterwards they wrought with Antiochus, Crassus, and other sacrilegious potentates.

Thus either through indignation conceived against him by the people of Jerusalem, and courage which they took to set upon him within the walls; or through preparation of the army that lay abroad in the country to bid him battle in open field, and recover by a new charge the honour which was lost at the former encounter; or through the miseries daily brought upon his own country by the Syrian in his absence, if not by all of these, Joash was driven to lay aside all thought of winning the kingdom of Juda; and taking hostages for his quiet passage, made all haste homewards, where he found a sad welcome, and being utterly forsaken of his wonted prosperity, forsook also his life in few months after, leaving his kingdom to Jeroboam the second, his fortunate and valiant son.

SECT. X.

The end of Amaziah's reign and life.

ANY man is able to guess how Amaziah looked when the enemy had left him. He that had vaunted so much of his own great prowess and skill in arms, threatening to work wonders, and set up anew the glorious empire of David, was now uncased of his lion's hide, and appeared nothing so terrible a beast as he had been painted. Much argument of scoffing at him he had ministered unto such as held him in dislike, which at this time, doubtless, were very many: for the shame that falls upon an insolent man seldom fails of meeting with abundance of reproach. As for Amaziah, (besides that the multitude are always prone to lay the blame upon their governors, even of those calamities which happened by their own default,) there was no child in all Jerusalem but knew him to be the root of all this mischief.

He had not only challenged a good man of war, being himself a dastard, but when he was beaten and taken by him, had basely pleaded for the common enemy to have him let into the city, that with his own eyes he might see what spoil there was, and not make a bad bargain by hearsay. The father of this Amaziah was a beastly man; yet when the Aramites took him and tormented him, he did not offer to buy his own life at so dear a rate as the city and temple of Jerusalem. Had he offered, should they have made his promise good? Surely the haste which they had made, in condescending to this hard match, was very unfortunate; for by keeping out the Israelite (which was easy enough) any little while, they should soon have been rid of him, seeing that the Aramites would have made him run home with greater speed than he came forth. Then also, when having trussed up his baggage, he was ready to be gone, a little courage would have served to persuade him to leave his load behind, had not their good king delivered up hostages to secure his return, as loath to defraud him of the recompense due to his pains taken.

Such exprobrations could not but vex the heart of this unhappy king: it had been well for him if they had made him acknowledge his faults unto God, that had punished him by all this dishonour. But we find no mention of his amendment. Rather it appears that he continued an idolater to the very last. For it is said of him, that after his turning away from the Lord, [o] *they wrought treason against him in Jerusalem;* a manifest proof that he was not reclaimed unto his life's end. And certainly they, which tell a man in his adversity of his faults past, shall sooner be thought to upbraid him with his fortune, than to seek his reformation. Wherefore it is no marvel, that priests and prophets were less welcome to him than ever they had been. On the other side, flatterers, and such as were desirous to put a heart into him, whereof themselves might always be masters, wanted not plausible matter to revive him. For he was not first nor second of the kings of Juda that had

[o] 2 Chron. xxv. 27.

been overcome in battle. David himself had abandoned the city, leaving it, before the enemy was in sight, unto Absalom his rebellious son. Many besides him had received losses, wherein the temple bare a part. If Joash might so easily have been kept out, why did their ancestors let Sesac in? Asa was reputed a virtuous prince, yet with his own hands he emptied the temple, and was not blamed, but held excusable by necessity of the state. Belike these traducers would commend no actions but of dead princes; if so, he should rather live to punish them than die to please them. Though wherein had he given them any cause of displeasure? It was he indeed that commanded to set open the gates to Joash, but it was the people that did it. Good servants ought not to have obeyed their master's commandments to his disadvantage, when they saw him not master of his own person. As his captivity did acquit him from blame, of all things that he did or suffered in that condition; so was that misfortune itself, in true estimation, as highly to his honour as deeply to his loss. For had he been as hasty to fly as others were, he might have escaped as well as others did. But seeking to teach the base multitude courage by his royal example, he was shamefully betrayed by those in whom he trusted. Unworthy creatures, that could readily obey him when speaking another man's words, being prisoner, he commanded them to yield; having neglected his charge, when leading them in the field, he bade them stand to it, and fight like men. The best was, that they must needs acknowledge his mischance as the occasion whereby many thousand lives were saved; the enemy having wisely preferred the surprise of a lion that was captain, before the chase and slaughter of an army of stags that followed him.

These or the like words comforting Amaziah were able to persuade him that it was even so indeed. And such excuses might have served well enough to please the people, if the king had first studied how to please God. But he that was unwilling to ascribe unto God the good success foretold by a prophet, could easily find how to impute this

late disaster unto fortune, and the fault of others. Now concerning fortune, it seems that he meant to keep himself safe from her by sitting still; for in fifteen years following (so long he outlived his honour) we find not that he stirred. As for his subjects, though nothing henceforth be recorded of his government, yet we may see by his end, that the middle time was ill spent among them, increasing their hatred to his own ruin. He that suspecteth his own worth, or other men's opinions, thinking that less regard is had of his person than he believeth to be due to his place, will commonly spend all the force of his authority in purchasing the name of a severe man. For the affected sourness of a vain fellow doth many times resemble the gravity of one that is wise; and the fear wherein they live, which are subject unto oppression, carries a show of reverence to him that does the wrong; at least it serves to dazzle the eyes of underlings, keeping them from prying into the weakness of such as have jurisdiction over them. Thus the time, wherein, by well using it, men might attain to be such as they ought, they do usually mispend in seeking to appear such as they are not. This is a vain and deceivable course; procuring, instead of the respect that was hoped for, more indignation than was feared: which is a thing of dangerous consequence; especially when an unable spirit, being overparted with high authority, is too passionate in the execution of such an office as cannot be checked but by violence. If therefore Amaziah thought by extreme rigour to hold up his reputation, what did he else than strive to make the people think he hated them, when of themselves they were apt enough to believe that he did not love them? The best was, that he had, by revenging his father's death, provided well enough for his own security: but who should take vengeance (or upon whom) of such a murder, wherein every one had a part? Surely God himself; who had not given commandment or leave unto the people to take his office out of his hand, in shedding the blood of his anointed. Yet as Amaziah, careless of God, was carried headlong by his own affections, so his subjects, following the same ill

example, without requiring what belonged unto their duties, rose up against him with such headlong fury, that being unable to defend himself in Jerusalem, he was driven to forsake the city, and fly to Lachis for safeguard of his life. But so extreme was the hatred conceived against him, and so general, that neither his absence could allay the rage of it in the capital city, nor his presence in the country abroad procure friends to defend his life. Questionless he chose the town of Lachis for his refuge, as a place of all other best affected to him; yet found he there none other favour, than that the people did not kill him with their own hands: for when the conspirators (who troubled not themselves about raising an army for the matter) sent pursuers after him, he was abandoned to death. Lachis was the utmost city of his dominion westward, standing somewhat without the border of Juda; so that he might have made an easy escape (if he durst adventure) into the territory of the Philistines or the kingdom of Israel. Therefore it may seem that he was detained there, where certain it is that he found no kind of favour: for had not the people of this town added their own treason to the general insurrection, the murderers could not, at so good leisure as they did, have carried away his body to Jerusalem, where they gave him burial with his fathers.

SECT. XI.

Of the interregnum or vacancy that was in the kingdom of Juda after the death of Amaziah.

IT hath already been shewed, that the reigns of the kings of Juda and Israel were sometimes to be measured by complete years, otherwhiles by years current; and that the time of one king is now and then confounded with the last years of his father's reign, or the foremost of his son's. But we are now arrived at a mere vacation, wherein the crown of Juda lay void eleven whole years; a thing not plainly set down in scriptures, nor yet remembered by Josephus, and therefore hard to be believed, were it not proved by necessary consequence.

Twice we find it written, that [p] *Amaziah king of Juda lived after the death of Joash king of Israel fifteen years*; whereupon it follows, that the death of Amaziah was about the end of fifteen years complete, which Jeroboam the second (who [q] *in the fifteenth year of Amaziah was made king over Israel*) had reigned in Samaria. But the succession of Uzziah, who is also called Azariah, unto his father in the kingdom of Juda, was eleven years later than the sixteenth of Jeroboam: for it is expressed, that [r] *Azariah began to reign in the seven and twentieth year of Jeroboam*; the sixteenth year of his life being joined with the first of two and fifty that he reigned. So the interregnum of eleven years cannot be divided, without some hard means used of interpreting the text otherwise than the letter sounds.

Yet some conjectures there are made, which tend to keep all even, without acknowledging any void time. For it is thought that in the place last of all cited, by the seven and twentieth year of Jeroboam we should perhaps understand the seven and twentieth year of his life; or else (because the like words are no where else interpreted in the like sense) that Azariah was eleven years under age, that is, five years old when his father died, and so his sixteenth year might concur with the seven and twentieth of Jeroboam; or, that the text itself may have suffered some wrong by miswriting twenty-seven for seventeen years, and so, by making the seventeenth year of Jeroboam to be newly begun, all may be solved. These are the conjectures of that worthy man Gerard Mercator: concerning the first of which it may suffice, that the author himself doth easily let it pass as improbable; the last is followed by none that I know, neither is it fit that upon every doubt we should call the text in question, which could not be satisfied in all copies, if perhaps it were in one: as for the second, it may be held with some qualification, that Azariah began his reign being five years old; but then must we add those eleven years which passed in his minority to the fifty-two that followed

[p] 2 Chron. xxv. 25. and 2 Kings xiv. 17.
[q] 2 Kings xiv. 23. [r] 2 Kings xv. 1.

his sixteenth year, which is all one in a manner with allowing an interregnum.

But why should we be so careful to avoid an interregnum in Juda, seeing that the like necessity hath enforced all good writers to acknowledge the like vacancy twice happening within few years in the kingdom of Israel? The space of time between Jeroboam's death and the beginning of Zachariah's reign, and such another gap found between the death of Peka and the beginning of Hosea, have made it easily to be admitted in Samaria, which the consideration of things as they stood in Juda, when Amaziah was slain, doth make more probable to have happened there, yea although the necessity of computation were not so apparent.

For the public fury having so far extended itself as unto the destruction of the king's own person, was not like to be appeased without order taken for obtaining some redress of those matters which had caused it at the first to break forth into such extremity. We need not therefore wonder how it came to pass that they, which already had thrown themselves into such an horrible treason, should afterwards dare to withhold the crown from a prince of that age, which being invested in all ornaments of regality, is nevertheless exposed to many injuries, proceeding from headstrong and forgetful subjects.

As for their conjecture who make Azariah to have been king but forty-one years, after he came out of his nonage, I dare not allow it, because it agrees too harshly with the text. The best opinion were that which gives unto Jeroboam eleven years of reign with his father, before he began to reign single in the fifteenth of Amaziah; did it not swallow up almost the whole reign of Joash, and extending the years of those which reigned in Israel, (by making such of them complete as were only current,) and take at the shortest the reigns of princes ruling in other nations. But I will not stand to dispute further of this; every man may follow his own opinion, and see mine more plainly in the chronological table drawn for these purposes.

SECT. XII.

Of princes contemporary with Amaziah, and more particularly of Sardanapalus.

THE princes living with Amaziah, and in the eleven years that followed his death, were, Joash and Jeroboam in Israel; Cephrenes and Mycerinus in Egypt; Sylvius Alladius and Sylvius Aventinus in Alba; Agamemnon in Corinth; Diognetus Pheredus and Ariphron in Athens; in Lacedæmon Thelectus, in whose time the Spartans won from the Achaians, Gerauthæ, Amyclæ and some other towns.

But more notable than all these was Assyrian Sardanapalus, who in the one and twentieth year of Amaziah succeeding his father Ocrazapes, or Anacyndaraxes, reigned twenty years, and was slain the last of the eleven void years which forewent the reign of Azariah. In him ended (as most agree) the line of Ninus, which had held that empire one thousand two hundred and forty years. A most luxurious and effeminate palliard he was, passing away his time among strumpets, whom he imitated both in apparel and behaviour.

In these voluptuous courses he lived an unhappy life, knowing himself to be so vile, that he durst not let any man have a sight of him; yet seen he was at length, and the sight of him was so odious that it procured his ruin. For Arbaces, who governed Media under him, finding means to behold the person of his king, was so incensed with that beastly spectacle, of a man disguised in woman's attire, and striving to counterfeit an harlot, that he thought it great shame to live under the command of so unworthy a creature. Purposing therefore to free himself and others from so base subjection, he was much encouraged by the prediction of Belesis, or Belosus, a Chaldæan, who told him plainly, that the kingdom of Sardanapalus should fall into his hands. Arbaces, well pleased with this prophecy, did promise unto Belosus himself the government of Babylon; and so concluding how to handle the business, one of them stirred up the Medes and allured the Persians into the

quarrel, the other persuaded the Babylonians and Arabians to venture themselves in the same cause. These four nations armed forty thousand men against Sardanapalus, who in this danger was not wanting to himself, but gathering such forces as he could out of other nations, encountered the rebels, as one that would by deeds refute the tales that they had told of him. Neither did his carriage in the beginning of that war answer to the manner of his retiredness. For in three battles he carried away the better, driving Arbaces and his followers into such fearful terms, that had not Belosus promised them constantly some unexpected succours, they would forthwith have broken up their camp. About the same time, an army out of Bactria was coming to assist the king, but Arbaces encountering it upon the way, persuaded so strongly by promise of liberty, that those forces joined themselves with his. The sudden departure of the enemy seeming to be a flight, caused Sardanapalus to feast his army, triumphing before victory. But the rebels, being strengthened with this new supply, came upon him by night, and forced his camp, which through over-great security was unprepared for resistance.

This overthrow did so weaken the king's heart, that leaving his wife's brother Salamenus to keep the field, he withdrew himself into the city of Nineveh; which, till new aids that he sent for should come, he thought easily to defend; it having been prophesied, that Nineveh should never be taken till the river were enemy to the town. Of the greatness and strength of Nineveh, enough hath been spoken in our discourse of Ninus. It was so well victualled, that Arbaces (having in two battles overthrown the king's army and slain Salamenus) was fain to lie two whole years before it, in hope to win it by famine, whereof yet he saw no appearance. It seems that he wanted engines and skill to force those walls, which were a hundred foot high, and thick enough for three chariots in front to pass upon the rampire. But that which he could not do in two years, the river of Tigris did in the third; for being high swollen with

rains, it not only drowned a part of the city through which it ran, but threw down twenty furlongs of the wall, and made a fair breach for Arbaces to enter.

Sardanapalus, either terrified with the accomplishment of the old oracle, or seeing no means of resistance left, shutting up himself into his palace, with his wives, eunuchs, and all his treasures, did set the house on fire, wherewith he and they were together consumed. [s] Strabo speaks of a monument of his that was in Anchiale, a city of Cilicia, whereon was found an inscription, shewing that he built that city and Tharsus upon one day: but the addition hereto, bidding men eat and drink and make merry, encouraging other, with verses well known, to a voluptuous life, by his own example, testified that his nature was more prone to sensuality than to any virtue beseeming a prince.

There are some that faintly report otherwise of his end; saying that Arbaces, when he first found him among his concubines, was so enraged, that suddenly he slew him with a dagger. But the more general consent of writers agrees with this relation of [t] Diodorus Siculus, who citeth Ctesias, a Greek writer, that lived in the court of Persia, where the truth might best be known.

Concerning the princes which reigned in Assyria, from the time of Semiramis unto Sardanapalus, though I believe that they were sometimes (yet not, as Orosius hath it, incessantly) busied in offensive or else defensive arms; yet for the most part of them I do better trust [u] Diodorus Siculus, who saith, that their names were overpassed by Ctesias, because they did nothing worthy of memory. Whatsoever they did, that which [x] Theophilus Antiochenus hath said of them is very true, "Silence and oblivion hath oppressed them."

[s] Strab. l. 9.
[t] Diod. Sic. l. 2. c. 7.
[u] Diod. l. 2. c. 6.
[x] Theophilus Antiochenus, l. 8.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of Uzziah.

SECT. I.

The prosperity of Uzziah, and of Jeroboam the second, who reigned with him in Israel. Of the anarchy that was in the ten tribes after the death of Jeroboam. Of Zachariah, Sallum, Menahem, and Pekahia.

UZZIAH, who is also called Azariah, the son of Jotham, was made king of Juda when he was sixteen years old, in the twenty-seventh year of Jeroboam the son of Joash king of Israel. He served the God of his father David, and had therefore good success in all his enterprises. He built Eloth, a town that stood near to the Red sea, and restored it to Juda. He overcame the Philistines, of whose towns he dismantled some, and built others in sundry parts of their territories. Also he got the mastery over some parts of Arabia, and brought the Ammonites to pay him tribute. Such were the fruits of his prosperous wars, wherein (as Josephus rehearseth his acts) he began with the Philistines, and then proceeded unto the Arabians and Ammonites. His army consisted of three hundred and seven thousand men of war, over which were appointed two thousand six hundred captains. For all this multitude the king prepared [y] shields, and spears, and helmets, and other arms requisite; following therein happily a course quite opposite unto that which some of his late predecessors had held, who thought it better policy to use the service of the nobility than of the multitude, carrying forth to war *the princes and all the chariots*, 2 Chron. xxi. 9.

As the victories of Uzziah were far more important than the achievements of all that had reigned in Juda, since the time of David, so were his riches and magnificent works equal, if not superior, to any of theirs that had been kings between him and Salomon. For besides that great conquests are wont to repay the charges of war with triple in-

[y] 2 Chron. xxvi. 14.

terest, he had the skill to use, as well as the happiness to get. He turned his lands to the best use, keeping ploughmen and dressers of vines, in grounds convenient for such husbandry. In other places he had cattle feeding, whereof he might well keep great store, having won so much from the Ammonites and Arabians, that had abundance of waste ground serving for pasturage. For defence of his cattle and herdsmen, he built towers in the wilderness. He also digged many cisterns or ponds. Josephus calls them watercourses; but in such dry grounds, it was enough that he found water by digging in the most likely places. If by these towers he so commanded the water, that none could, without his consent, relieve themselves therewith, questionless he took the only course by which he might securely hold the lordship over all the wilderness; it being hardly passable, by reason of the extreme drought, when the few springs therein found are left free to the use of travellers.

Besides all this cost, and the building both of Eloth by the Red sea, and of sundry towns among the Philistines, he repaired the wall of Jerusalem, which Joash had broken down, and fortified it with towers, whereof some were an hundred and fifty cubits high.

The state of Israel did never so flourish as at this time, since the division of the twelve tribes into two kingdoms. For as Uzziah prevailed in the south, so (if not more) Jeroboam the son of Joash, king of the ten tribes, enlarged his border on the north; where, obtaining many victories against the Syrians, he won the royal city of Damascus, and he won Hamath, with all the country thereabout [z] *from the entering of Hamath unto the sea of the wilderness;* that is, (as the most expound it,) unto the vast deserts of Arabia, the end whereof was undiscovered. So the bounds of Israel in those parts were, in the time of this Jeroboam, the same (or not much narrower) which they had been in the reign of David.

But it was not for the piety of Jeroboam that he thrived so well, for he was an idolater; it was only the compassion

[z] 2 Kings xiv. 25, 28.

which the Lord had on Israel, seeing the exceeding bitter affliction whereinto the Aramites had brought his people, which caused him to alter the success of war, and to throw the victorious Aramites under the feet of those whom they had so cruelly oppressed. The line of Jehu, to which God had promised the kingdom of [a] *Israel unto the fourth generation*, was now not far from the end; and now again it was invited unto repentance by new benefits, as it had been at the beginning. But the sin of Jeroboam the son of Nebat was held so precious, that neither the kingdom itself, given to him by God, was able to draw Jehu from that politic idolatry; nor the misery falling upon him and his posterity, to bring them to a better course of religion; nor yet, at the last, this great prosperity of Jeroboam the son of Joash to make him render the honour that was due to the only Giver of victory. Wherefore the promise of God, made unto Jehu, that his sons, *unto the fourth generation*, should sit on the throne of Israel, was not enlarged; but, being almost expired, gave warning of the approaching end, by an accident (so strange, that we, who find no particulars recorded, can hardly guess at the occasions) foregoing the last accomplishment.

When Jeroboam the son of Joash, after a victorious reign of forty-one years, had ended his life, it seems in all reason that Zachariah his son should forthwith have been admitted to reign in his stead; the nobility of that race having gotten such a lustre by the immediate succession of four kings, that any competitor, had the crown passed by election, must needs have appeared base; and the virtue of the last king having been so great, as might well serve to lay the foundation of a new house, much more to establish the already confirmed right of a family so rooted in possession. All this notwithstanding, two or three and twenty years did pass, before Zachariah the son of Jeroboam was by uniform consent received as king. The true original causes hereof were to be found at Dan and Bethel, where the golden calves did stand: yet second instruments of this

[a] 2 Kings x. 30.

disturbance are likely not to have been wanting, upon which the wisdom of man was ready to cast an eye. Probable it is that the captains of the army (who afterwards slew one another so fast, that in fourteen years there reigned five kings) did now by headstrong violence rent the kingdom asunder, holding each what he could, and either despising or hating some qualities in Zachariah; until, after many years, wearied with dissension, and the principal of them perhaps being taken out of the way by death, for want of any other eminent man, they consented to yield all quietly to the son of Jeroboam. That this anarchy lasted almost twenty-three years, we find by the difference of time between the fifteenth year of Uzziah, which was the last of Jeroboam's forty-first, (his twenty-seventh concurring with the first of Uzziah,) and the thirty-eighth of the same Uzziah, in the last six months whereof Zachariah reigned in Samaria. There are some indeed, that by supposing Jeroboam to have reigned with his father eleven years, do cut off the interregnum in Juda, (before mentioned,) and by the same reason abridge this anarchy, that was before the reign of Zachariah in Israel. Yet they leave it twelve years long, which is time sufficient to prove that the kingdom of the ten tribes was no less distempered than as is already noted. But I choose rather to follow the more common opinion, as concurring more exactly with the times of other princes reigning abroad in the world, than this doubtful conjecture, that gives to Jeroboam fifty-two years, by adding three quarters of his father's reign unto his own, which was itself indeed so long, that he may well seem to have begun it very young; for I do not think that God blessed this idolater both with a longer reign and with a longer life, than he did his servant David.

Thus much being spoken of the time wherein the throne of Israel was void, before the reign of Zachariah, little may suffice to be said of his reign itself, which lasted but a little while. Six months only was he king, in which time he declared himself a worshipper of the golden calves, which was enough to justify the judgment of God, whereby he was slain. He was the last of Jehu's house, being (inclusively)

the first of that line; which may have been some cause of the troubles impeaching his orderly succession; the prophecy having determined that race in the fourth generation. But (besides that God's promise was extended unto the utmost) there was no warrant given to Sallum, or to any other, for the death of Zachariah, as has been given to Jehu for the slaughter of Jehoram and for the eradication of Ahab's house.

Zachariah having been six months a king, was then slain by Sallum, who reigned after him [b] *the space of a month in Samaria.* What this Sallum was, I do not find; save only that he was a traitor, and the son of one Jabesh, whereby his father got no honour. It seems that he was one of those who in time of faction had laboured for himself; and now, when all other competitors were sitten down, thought easily to prevail against that king, in whose person the race of Jehu was to fail. Manifest it is that Sallum had a strong party; for Tiphsah, or Thapsa, and the coast thereof even from Tirzah, where Menahem, his enemy and supplanter, then lay, refused to admit, as king in his stead, the man that murdered him. Yet at the end of one month Sallum received the reward of his treason, and was slain by Menahem, who reigned in his place.

Menahem the son of Gadi reigned after Sallum ten years. In opposition to Sallum, his hatred was deadly and inhuman; for he not only destroyed Tiphsah, and all that were therein or thereabouts, but he ripped up all their women with child, because they did not open their gates and let him in. Had this cruelty been used in revenge of Zachariah's death, it is like that he would have been as earnest in procuring unto him his father's crown when it was first due. But in performing that office there was used such long deliberation, that we may plainly discover ambition, disdain, and other private passions to have been the causes of this beastly outrage.

In the time of Menahem, and (as it seems) in the beginning of his reign, Pul, king of Assyria, came against the

[b] 2 Kings xv. 13.

land of Israel; whom this new king appeased with a thousand talents of silver, levied upon all the substantial men in his country. With this money the Israelite purchased, not only the peace of his kingdom, but his own establishment therein; some factious man (belike) having either invited Pul thither, or (if he came uncalled) sought to use his help in deposing this ill-beloved king. [c] Josephus reports of this Menahem, that his reign was no milder than his entrance. But after ten years his tyranny ended with his life, and Pekahia his son occupied his room.

Of this Pekahia the story is short, for he reigned only two years; at the end whereof he was slain by Peka, the son of Kemalia, whose treason was rewarded with the crown of Israel, as, in time coming, another man's treason against himself shall be. There needs no more to be said of Menahem and his son, save that they were both of them idolaters, and the son (as we find in [d] Josephus) like to his father in cruelty. Concerning Pul the Assyrian king, who first opened unto those northern nations the way into Palæstina, it will shortly follow, in order of the story, to deliver our opinion: whether he were that Belosus (called also Beleses, and by some Phul Belochus) who joined with Arbaces the Median against Sardanapalus, or whether he were some other man. At the present it is more fit that we relate the end of Uzziah's life, who outlived the happiness wherein we left him.

SECT. II.

The end of Uzziah's reign and life.

AS the zeal of Jehoiada, that godly priest, was the mean to preserve the lineage of David in the person of Joash, so it appears that the care of holy men was not wanting to Uzziah, to bring him up, and advance him to the crown of Juda, when the hatred borne to his father Amaziah had endangered his succession. For it is said of Uzziah, that [e] *he sought God in the days of Zachariah, (which understood the visions of God,) and when as he sought the Lord, God made him prosper.*

[c] Jos. Ant. l. 9. c. 11. [d] Jos. ibid. [e] 2 Chron. xxvi. 5.

[f] *But when he was strong, his heart was lifted up to his destruction: for he transgressed against the Lord his God, and went into the temple of the Lord to burn incense upon the altar of incense.* Thus he thought to enlarge his own authority by meddling in the priest's office, whose power had in every extremity been so helpful to the kings of Juda, that mere gratitude and civil policy should have held back Uzziah from encroaching thereupon, yea though the law of God had been silent in this case, and not forbidden it. Howsoever the king forgot his duty, the priests remembered theirs, and God forgot not to assist them. Azariah the high priest interrupted the king's purpose, and gave him to understand how little to his honour it would prove that he took upon him the office of the sons of Aaron. There were with Azariah fourscore other priests, valiant men, but their valour was shewed only in assisting the high priest when (according to his duty) he reprehended the king's presumption. This was enough, the rest God himself performed. We find in Josephus, l. 9. c. 11. that the king had apparelled himself in priestly habit, and that he threatened Azariah and his companions to punish them with death, unless they would be quiet. Josephus indeed enlargeth the story by inserting a great earthquake, which did tear down half an hill, that rolled four furlongs, till it rested against another hill, stopping up the highways, and spoiling the king's garden in the passage. With this earthquake, he saith, that the roof of the temple did cleave, and that a sunbeam did light upon the king's face, which was presently infected with leprosy. All this may have been true; and some there are who think that this earthquake is the same which is mentioned by the prophet Amos, wherein they do much misreckon the times. For the earthquake spoken of by Amos was in the days of Jeroboam king of Israel, who died thirty-seven years before Uzziah; so that Jotham the son of Uzziah, which supplied his father's place in government of the land, should, by this account, have been then unborn; for he was but twenty-five years old when he be-

[f] 2 Chron. xxvi. 16.

gan to reign as king. Therefore thus far only we have assurance, that *while Uzziah was wroth with the priests, the leprosy rose up in his forehead before the priests*, 2 Chron. xxvi. 20. Hereupon he was caused in all haste to depart the place, and to live in a house by himself until he died; the rule over the king's house and over all the land being committed to Jotham, his son and successor. Jotham took not upon himself the style of king till his father was dead; whom they buried in the same field wherein his ancestors lay interred, yet in a monument apart from the rest, because he was a leper.

SECT. III.

Of the prophets which lived in the time of Uzziah; and of princes then ruling in Egypt, and in some other countries.

IN the time of Uzziah were the first of the lesser prophets, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, and Jonas. It is not indeed set down when Joel or Obadiah did prophesy; but if the prophets whose times are not expressed ought to be ranged (according to St. Jerome's rule) with the next before them, then must these two be judged contemporary with Hosea and Amos, who lived under king Uzziah. To inquire which of these five was the most ancient, it may perhaps be thought at least a superfluous labour; yet if the age wherein Homer lived hath so painfully been sought without reprehension, how can he be taxed, which offers to search out the antiquity of these holy prophets? It seems to me, that the first of these, in order of time, was the prophet Jonas, who foretold the great victories of Jeroboam king of Israel; and therefore is like to have prophesied in the days of Joash, whilst the affliction of Israel was *exceeding bitter*, the [s] text itself intimating no less; by which consequence he was elder than the other prophets whose works are now extant. But his prophecies that concerned the kingdom of Israel are now lost. That which remaineth of him seems, not without reason, unto some very learned, to have belonged unto the time of Sardanapalus, in whose days Nineveh was first of all destroyed. This prophet rather taught Christ by his suffer-

[s] 2 Kings xiv. 25, 26.

ings, than by his writings now extant: in all the rest are found express promises of the Messias.

In the reign of Uzziah likewise it was that Isaiah, the first of the four great prophets, began to see his visions. This difference of greater and lesser prophets is taken from the volumes which they have left written, (as [h] St. Augustine gives reason of the distinction,) because the greater have written larger books. The prophet Isaiah was great indeed, not only in regard of his much writing, or of his nobility, (for their opinion is rejected who think him to have been the son of Amos the prophet,) and the high account wherein he lived, but for the excellency both of his style and argument, wherein he so plainly foretelleth the birth, miracles, passion, and whole history of our Saviour, with the calling of the Gentiles, that he might as well be called an evangelist as a prophet; having written in such wise, that (as [i] Jerome saith) "one would think he did not foretell of "things to come, but compile an history of matters already "past."

Bocchoris was king of Egypt, and the ninth year of his reign, by our computation, (whereof in due place we will give reason,) was current when Uzziah took possession of the kingdom of Juda.

After the death of Bocchoris, Asychis followed in the kingdom of Egypt; unto him succeeded Anysis; and these two occupied that crown six years. Then Sabacus, an Ethiopian, became king of Egypt, and held it fifty years, whereof the ten first ran along with the last of Uzziah's reign and life. Of these and other Egyptian kings more shall be spoken when their affairs shall come to be intermeddled with the business of Juda.

In Athens, the two last years of Ariphron's twenty, the seven and twentieth of Thespeius, the twentieth of Agamnestor, and three the first of Æschylus's three and twenty, made even with the two and fifty of Uzziah; as likewise did in Alba the last seven of Sylvius Aventinus's seven and thirty, together with the three and twenty of Sylvius Pro-

[h] Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. 18. c. 19. [i] Hier. in Præf. super Esaiam.

cas, and two and twenty the first of Sylvius Amulius. In Media, Arbaces began his new kingdom, in the first of Uzziah, wherein, after eight and twenty years, his son Sosarmus succeeded him, and reigned thirty years. Of this Arbaces, and the division of the Assyrian empire between him and others, when they had oppressed Sardanapalus, I hold it convenient to use more particular discourse, that we may not wander in too great uncertainty in the story of the Assyrian kings, who have already found the way into Palæstina, and are not likely to forget it.

SECT. IV.

Of the Assyrian kings descending from Phul; and whether Phul and Belosus were one person, or heads of sundry families, that reigned apart in Nineveh and Babylon.

BY that which hath formerly been shewed of Sardanapalus's death, it is apparent that the chief therein was Arbaces the Median; to whom the rest of the confederates did not only submit themselves in that war, but were contented afterwards to be judged by him, receiving by his authority sentence of death, or pardon of their forfeited lives. The first example of this his power was shewn upon Belosus the Babylonian, by whose especial advice and help Arbaces himself was become so great. Yet was not this power of Arbaces exercised in so tyrannical manner as might give offence in that great alteration of things, either to the princes that had assisted him, or to the generality of the people. For in the condemnation of Belosus, he used the counsel of his other captains, and then pardoned him of his own grace; allowing him to hold, not only the city and province of Babylon, but also those treasures, for embezzling whereof his life had been endangered.

In like manner he gave rewards to the rest of his partakers, and made them rulers of provinces; retaining (as it appears) only the sovereignty to himself, which to use immoderately he did naturally abhor. He is said indeed to have excited the Medes against Sardanapalus, by propounding unto them hope of transferring the empire to their na-

tion. And to make good this his promise, he destroyed the city of Nineveh; permitting the citizens nevertheless to take and carry away every one his own goods. The other nations that joined with him, as the Persians and Bactrians, he drew to his side by the allurement of liberty, which he himself so greatly loved, that by slackening too much the reins of his own sovereignty, he did more harm to the general estate of Media, than the pleasure of the freedom which it enjoyed could recompense. For both the territory of that country was pared narrower by Salmanassar, (or perhaps by some of his progenitors,) whom we find in the scriptures to have held some towns of the Medes; and the civil administration was so disorderly, that the people themselves were glad to see that reformation which Deioces, the fifth of Arbaces's line, did make in that government, by reducing them into stricter terms of obedience.

How the force of the Assyrians grew to be such as might in fourscore years, if not sooner, both extend itself unto the conquest of Israel, and tear away some part of Media, it is a question hardly to be answered; not only in regard of the destruction of Nineveh and subversion of the Assyrian kingdom, whereof the Medes under Arbaces had the honour, who may seem at that time to have kept the Assyrians under their subjection, when the rest of the provinces were set at liberty; but in consideration of the kings themselves, who reigning afterwards in Babylon and Nineveh, are confounded by some, and distinguished by others; whereby their history is made uncertain.

I will first therefore deliver the opinion generally received, and the grounds whereupon it stands; then, producing the objections made against it, I will compare together the determination of that worthy man Joseph Scaliger, with those learned that subscribe thereunto, and the judgment of others that were more ancient writers, or have followed the ancients in this doubtful case. Neither shall it be needful to set down apart the several authorities and arguments of sundry men, adding somewhat of weight or of clearness one to another; it will be enough to relate the whole substance of

each discourse, which I will do as briefly as I can, and without fear to be taxed of partiality, as being no more addicted to the one opinion than to the other, by any fancy of mine own, but merely led by those reasons which, upon examination of each part, seemed to me most forcible, though to others they may perhaps appear weak.

That which until of late hath passed as current, is this: that Belosus was the same king who first of the Assyrians entered Palæstina with an army; being called Pul, or Phul, in the scriptures, and by Annius's authors, with such as follow them, Phul Belochus. Of this man it is said that he was a skilful astrologer, subtle and ambitious; that he got Babylon by composition made with Arbaces; and that not therewith content, he got into his hand part of Assyria; finally, that he reigned eight and forty years, and then dying left the kingdom to Teglat Phalasar his son, in whose posterity it continued some few descents, till the house of Merodach prevailed. The truth of this, if Annius's Metasthenes were sufficient proof, could not be gainsaid; for that author, such as he is, is peremptory herein. But howsoever Annius's authors deserve to be suspected, it stands with no reason that we should conclude all to be false which they affirm. They who maintain this tradition justify it by divers good allegations, as a matter confirmed by circumstances found in all authors, and repugnant unto no history at all. For it is manifest by the relation of Diodorus, (which is indeed the foundation whereupon all have built,) that Arbaces and Belosus were partners in the action against Sardanapalus; and that the Bactrians, who joined with them, were thought well rewarded with liberty, as likewise other captains were with governments: but that any third person was so eminent as to have Assyria itself, the chief country of the empire, bestowed upon him, it is a thing whereof not the least appearance is found in any history. And certainly it stood with little reason, that the Assyrians should be committed unto a peculiar king at such time as it was not thought meet to trust them in their own walls and houses. Rather it is apparent, that the destruction of Ni-

neveh by Arbaces, and the transplantation of the citizens, was held a needful policy, because thereby the people of that nation might be kept down from aspiring to recover the sovereignty, which else they would have thought to belong, as of right, unto the seat of the empire.

Upon such considerations did the Romans, in ages long after following, destroy Carthage, and dissolve the corporation, or body politic, of the citizens of Capua, because those two towns were capable of the empire; a matter esteemed over-dangerous even to [k] Rome itself, that was mistress of them both. This being so, how can it be thought that the Assyrians in three or four years had erected their kingdom anew, under one Pul? or what must this Pul have been, (of whose deserving, or intermeddling, or indeed of whose very name we find no mention in the war against Sardanapalus,) to whom the principal part of the empire fell, either by general consent in division of the provinces, or by his own power and purchase very soon after? Surely he was none other than Belosus; whose near neighbourhood gave him opportunity (as he was wise enough to play his own game) both to get Assyria to himself, and to impeach any other man that should have attempted to seize upon it. The province of Babylon, which Belosus held, being, as [l] Herodotus reports, in riches and power as good as the third part of the Persian empire, was able to furnish him with all that was requisite for such a business: if that were not enough, he had gotten into his own hands all the gold and silver that had been in the palace of Nineveh. And questionless to restore such a city as Nineveh was an enterprise fit for none to take in hand, except he had such means as Belosus had; which Pul, if he were not Belosus, is likely to have wanted.

Besides all this, had Pul been a distinct person from Belosus, and lord of Assyria, which lay beyond the countries of Babylon and Mesopotamia, it would not have been an easy matter for him to pass quite through another man's kingdom with an army, seeking booty afar off in Israel; the only action by which the name of Phul is known. But

[k] Tull. contra Rullum, Or. 2. [l] Herod. l. 1.

if we grant that he whom the scriptures call Pul, or Phul, was the same whom profane writers have called Belosus, Beleses, and Belestis, in like manner, as [m]Josephus acknowledgeth, that he whom the scriptures called never otherwise than Darius the Mede was the son of Astyages, and called of the Greeks by another name, (that is, Cyaxares,) then is this scruple utterly removed. For Babylon and Mesopotamia did border upon Syria and Palæstina; so that Belosus, having settled his affairs in Assyria towards the east and north, might with good leisure encroach upon the countries that lay on the other side of his kingdom to the south and west. He that looks into all particulars, may find every one circumstance concurring to prove that Phul, who invaded Israel, was none other than Belosus. For the prince of the Arabians, who joined with Arbaces, and brought no small part of the forces wherewith Sardanapalus was overthrown, did enter into that action merely for the love of Belosus. The friendship of these Arabians was a thing of main importance to those that were to pass over Euphrates with an army into Syria. Wherefore Belosus, that held good correspondence with them, and whose most fruitful province, adjoining to their barren quarters, might yearly do them inestimable pleasures, was not only like to have quiet passage through their borders, but their utmost assistance; yea, it stands with good reason, that they who loved not Israel should, for their own behoof, have given him intelligence of the destruction and civil broils among the ten tribes; whereby, as this Phul got a thousand talents, so it seems that the Syrians and Arabians, that had felt an heavy neighbour of Jeroboam, recovered their own, setting up a new king in Damasco, and clearing the coast of Arabia (from the sea of the wilderness to Hamath) of the Hebrew garrisons. Neither was it any new acquaintance that made the nations divided by Euphrates hold together in so good terms of friendship: it was ancient consanguinity; the memory whereof was available to the Syrians in the time of David, when the Aramites beyond the river came over wil-

[m] Joseph. Ant. l. 10. cap. 12.

lingly to the succour of Hadadezer, and the Aramites about Damasco. So Belosus had good reason to look into those parts; what a king, reigning so far off as Nineveh, should have to do in Syria, if the other end of his kingdom had not reached to Euphrates, it were hard to shew.

But concerning this last argument of the business, which might allure the Chaldeans into Palæstina, it may be doubted, lest it should seem to have ill coherence with that which hath been said of the long anarchy that was in the ten tribes. For if the crown of Israel were worn by no man in three and twenty years, then is it likely that Belosus was either unwilling to stir, or unable to take the advantage when it was fairest and first discovered. This might have compelled those, who alone were not strong enough, to seek after help from some prince that lay further off; and so the opinion of those that distinguish Phul from Belosus would be somewhat confirmed. On the other side, if we say that Belosus did pass the river of Euphrates as soon as he found likelihood of making a prosperous journey, then may it seem that the interregnum in Israel was not so long as we have made it; for three and twenty years leisure would have afforded better opportunity, which ought not to have been lost.

For answer hereunto, we are to consider what Orosius and Eusebius have written concerning the Chaldees: the one, that after the departure of Arbaces into Media, they laid hold on a part of the empire; the other, that they prevailed and grew mighty between the times of Arbaces and Deioces the Medes. Now, though it be held an error of Orosius, where he supposeth that the occupying of Babylonia by the Chaldeans was in manner of a rebellion from the Medes; yet herein he and Eusebius do concur, that the authority of Arbaces did restrain the ambition which by his absence grew bold, and by his death regardful only of itself. Now, though some have conjectured that all Assyria was given to Belosus (as an overplus, besides the province of Babylon, which was his by plain bargain made aforehand) in regard of his high deservings; yet the opinion more com-

monly received is, that he did only encroach upon that province by little and little whilst Arbaces lived, and afterwards dealing more openly, got it all himself. Seeing therefore that there passed but twelve years between the death of Arbaces and the beginning of Menahem's reign, manifest it is that the conquest of Assyria, and settling of that country, was work enough to hold Belosus occupied, besides the restauration of Nineveh, which alone was able to take up all the time remaining of his reign, if perhaps he lived to see it finished in his own days. So that this argument may rather serve to prove that Phul and Belosus were one person; forasmuch as the journey of Phul against Israel was not made until Belosus could find leisure; and the time of advantage which Belosus did let slip argued his business in some other quarter, namely, in that province of which Phul is called king. Briefly, it may be said, that he who conquered Assyria, and performed somewhat upon a country so far distant as Palæstina, was likely to have been at least named in some history, or if not himself, yet his country to have been spoken of for those victories: but we neither hear of Phul in any profane author, neither doth any writer, sacred or profane, once mention the victories or acts whatsoever of the Assyrians done in those times; whereas of Belosus, and the power of the Chaldeans, we find good record.

Surely that great slaughter of so many thousand Assyrians, in the quarrel of Sardanapalus, together with other calamities of that long and unfortunate war, which overwhelmed the whole country, not ending but with the ruin and utter desolation of Nineveh, must needs have so weakened the state of Assyria, that it could not in thirty years space be able to invade Palæstina, which the ancient kings, reigning in Nineveh, had in all their greatness forborne to attempt. Yet these afflictions, disabling that country, did help to enable Berosus to subdue it; who having once extended his dominion to the borders of Medea, and being, (especially if he had compounded with the Medes,) by the interposition of that country, secure of the Scythians and

other warlike nations on that side, might very well turn southward, and try his fortune in those kingdoms whereinto civil dissension of the inhabitants, and the bordering envy of the Arabians and Aramites about Damasco, friends and cousins to the Chaldeans and Mesopotamians, did invite him. For these and the other before-alleged reasons, it may be concluded, that what is said of Phul in the scriptures ought to be understood of Belosus; even as by the names of Nebuchadnezzar, Darius the Mede, Artashasht, and Ahashuerosh, with the like, are thought or known to be meant the same whom profane historians, by names better known in their own countries, have called Nabopollassar, Cyaxares, and Artaxerxes; especially considering, that hereby we shall neither contradict any thing that hath been written of old, nor need to trouble ourselves and others with framing new conjectures. This in effect is that which they allege in maintenance of the opinion commonly received.

Now this being once granted, other things of more importance will of themselves easily follow. For it is a matter of no great consequence to know the truth of this point, (considering it apart from that which depends thereon,) whether Phul were Belosus or some other man: the whole race of these Assyrian and Babylonian kings, wherein are found those famous princes Nabonassar, Mardocempadus, and Nabopollassar, (famous for the astronomical observations recorded from their times,) is the main ground of this contention. If therefore Belosus, or Belesis, were that Phul which invaded Israel; if he and his posterity reigned both in Nineveh and in Babylon; if he were father of Teglat-Phul-Asar, from whom Salmanassar, Sennacherib, and Asar-haddon descended; then is it manifest, that we must seek Nabonassar, the Babylonian king, among these princes; yea, and conclude him to be none other than Salmanassar, who is known to have reigned in those years which Ptolomy the mathematician hath assigned unto Nabonassar. As for Merodach, who supplanted Asar-haddon, manifest it is that he and his successors were of another house. This is the scope and end of all this disputation.

But they that maintain the contrary part will not be satisfied with such conjectures. They lay hold upon the conclusion, and by shaking that into pieces, hope to overthrow all the premises upon which it is inferred. For (say they) if Nabonassar, that reigned in Babylon, could not be Salmanassar, or any of those other Assyrian kings, then is it manifest that the races were distinct, and that Phul and Belosus were several kings. This consequence is so plain, that it needs no confirmation. To prove that Nabonassar was a distinct person from Salmanassar, are brought such arguments as would stagger the resolution of him that had sworn to hold the contrary. For first, Nabonassar was king of Babylon, and not of Assyria. This is proved by his name, which is merely Chaldean, whereas Salman, the first part of Salmanassar's name, is proper to the Assyrians. It is likewise proved by the astronomical observations, which proceeding from the Babylonians, not from the Assyrians, do shew that Nabonassar, from whom Ptolomy draws that epocha, or account of times, was a Babylonian, and no Assyrian. Thirdly, and more strongly, it is confirmed by the successor of Nabonassar, which was Mardocempadus, called in his own language Merodac-ken-pad, but more briefly, in [n] Esay's prophecy, Merodach, by the former part of his name, or Merodach Baladan the son of Baladan. Now if Merodach, the son of Baladan, king of Babel, were the son of Nabonassar, then was Nabonassar none other than Baladan king of Babel, and not Salmanassar king of Assyria.

What can be plainer? As for the cadence of these two names, Nabonassar and Salmanassar, which in Greek or Latin writing hath no difference, we are taught by Scaliger, that in the Hebrew letters there is found no affinity therein. So concerning the places of Babylonia, whereinto Salmanassar carried captive some part of the ten tribes, it may well be granted, that in the province of Babylon Salmanassar had gotten somewhat, yet will it not follow that he was king of Babylon itself. To conclude, Merodach began his reign over Babylon in the sixth year of Hezekiah, at which time

[n] Esay xxxix. 1.

Salmanassar took Samaria; therefore if Salmanassar were king of Babylon, then must we say that he and Merodach, yea and Nabonassar, were all one man. These are the arguments of that noble and learned writer Joseph Scaliger, who, not contented to follow the common opinion, founded upon likelihood of conjectures, hath drawn his proofs from matter of more necessary inference.

Touching all that was said before of Phul Belosus, for the proving that Phul and Belosus were not sundry kings; Joseph Scaliger pities their ignorance, that have spent their labour to so little purpose. Honest and painful men he confesseth that they were, who by their diligence might have won the good liking of their readers, had they not by mentioning Annius's authors given such offence, that men refused thereupon to read their books and chronologies. A short answer.

For mine own part, howsoever I believe nothing that Annius's Berosus, Metasthenes, and others of that stamp affirm, in respect of their bare authority; yet am I not so squeamish, but that I can well enough digest a good book, though I find the names of one or two of these good fellows alleged in it: I have (somewhat peradventure too often) already spoken my mind of Annius's authors; nevertheless, I may say here again, that where other histories are silent, or speak not enough, there may we without shame borrow of these, as much as agrees with that little which elsewhere we find, and serveth to explain or enlarge it without improbabilities.

Neither indeed are those honest and painful men, (as Scaliger terms them, meaning, if I mistake him not, good silly fellows,) who set down the Assyrian kings from Pul forwards, as lords also of Babylon, taking Pul for Belosus, and Salmanassar for Nabonassar, such writers as a man should be ashamed or unwilling to read. For (to omit a multitude of others, that herein follow Annius, though disliking him in general) Gerard Mercator is not so slight a chronologer that he should be laughed out of doors, with the name of an honest-meaning fellow.

But I will not make comparisons between Scaliger and Mercator; they were both of them men notably learned: let us examine the arguments of Scaliger, and see whether they be of such force as cannot either be resisted or avoided. It will easily be granted, that Nabonassar was king of Babylon; that he was not king of Assyria, some men doubt whether Scaliger's reasons be enough to prove. For though Nabonassar be a Chaldean name, and Salmanassar an Assyrian, yet what hinders us from believing, that one man in two languages might be called by two several names? That astronomy flourished among the Chaldees, is not enough to prove Nabonassar either an astrologer or a Chaldean. So it is, that Scaliger himself calls them [o] *prophetas nescio quos, qui Nabonassarum astronomum fuisse in somnis viderunt;* "prophets I know not who, that in their "sleep have dreamt of Nabonassar, that he was an astro-"loger."

Whether Nabonassar were an astrologer or no, I cannot tell; it is hard to maintain the negative. But as his being lord over the Chaldeans doth not prove him to have been learned in their sciences; so doth it not prove him not to have been also king of Assyria. The emperor Charles the Fifth, who was born in Gant, and Philip his son, king of Spain, and lords of the Netherlands, had men far more learned in all sciences, and particularly in the mathematics, among their subjects of the Low Countries, than were any that I read of then living in Spain, if Spain at that time had any; yet I think posterity will not use this as an argument to prove that Spain was none of theirs. It may well be, that Salmanassar, or Nabonassar, did use the Assyrian soldiers and Babylonian scholars: but it seems that he and his posterity, by giving themselves wholly to the more warlike nation, lost the richer, out of which they first issued; as likewise king Philip lost partly, and partly did put to a dangerous hazard, all the Netherlands, by such a course. As for the two unanswerable arguments, (as Scaliger terms them, being methinks none other than

[o] Scalig. Canon. l. 3.

somewhat that is or might be alleged on the contrary side,) one of them which is drawn from the unlike sound and writing of those names, Salmanassar and Nabonassar in the Hebrew, I hold a point about which no man will dispute; for it is not likeness of sound, but agreement of time, and many circumstances else, that must take away the distinction of persons: the other likewise may be granted; which is, that Salmanassar might be lord of some places in the province of Babylon, yet not king of Babylon itself: this indeed might be so, and it might be otherwise. Hitherto there is nothing save conjecture against conjecture. But in that which is alleged out of the prophet Esay, concerning Merodach the son of Baladan; and in that which is said of this Merodach, or Mardokenpadus, his being the successor of Nabonassar, and his beginning to reign in the sixth year of Hezekiah, I find matter of more difficulty than can be answered in haste. I will therefore defer the handling of these objections, until I meet with their subject in its proper place; which will be when we come to the time of Hezekiah, wherein Merodach lived and was king. Yet that I may not leave too great a scruple in the mind of the reader, thus far will I here satisfy him; that how strong soever this argument may seem, Scaliger himself did live to retract it, ingenuously confessing, that in thinking Merodach to be the son of Nabonassar, he had been deceived.

Now therefore let us consider in what sort they have fashioned their story, who taking Pul to be a distinct person from Belosus or Belestis, have in like sort, as was necessary, distinguished their offspring, making that of Pul to fail in Asarhaddon, which left all to Merodach the Babylonian. And here I must first confess mine own want of books, if perhaps there be many, that have gone about to reduce this narration into some such order, as might present unto us the body of this history in one view. Divers indeed there are, whom I have seen, that since Joseph Scaliger delivered his opinion have written in favour of some one or other point thereof; but Sethus Calvisius himself, who hath abridged Scaliger's learned work, *De Emendatione Tempo-*

rum, hath not been careful to give us notice how long Belosus, Baladan, Pul, or Tiglat Pulassar did reign, (perhaps because he found it not expressed in Scaliger,) but is content to set down Baladan for the same person with Nabonassar, which Scaliger himself revoked. In this case therefore I must lay down the plot of these divided kingdoms, in such sort as I find it contrived by Augustinus Torniellus; who only of all that I have seen sets down the succession, continuance, and acts of those that reigned in Assyria after Sardanapalus, distinguishing them from Belosus and his posterity, of whom he hath the like remembrance. This Torniellus is a regular clerk of the congregation of St. Paul, whose annals were printed the last year; he appears to me a man of curious industry, sound judgment, and free spirit; yet many times, and, I take it, wilfully, forgetful of thanking or mentioning those protestant writers, by whose books he hath received good information, and enriched his works by inserting somewhat of theirs. But in this business he hath openly professed to follow Scaliger, whose help, without wrong or dishonour to himself, he hath both used and acknowledged. For mine own part, I will not spare to do right unto Torniellus, but confess myself to have received benefit by his writing, and wish that his annals had sooner come to light; for that as he hath much confirmed me in some things, so would he have instructed and emboldened me to write more fully and less timorously in other things, which now I have not leisure to revise. Particularly in that conjecture (which I had faintly delivered, and yet feared lest it had over-hastily passed out of my hand, and been exposed to other men's constructions) of the four kings that invaded the valley of Siddim, and were slain by Abraham, I find him adventuring, as I have done, to say, [p] that they may probably be thought to have been some petty lords; the contrary opinion of all writers notwithstanding. But now let us consider how he hath ordered these last Assyrian and Babylonian kings.

After the destruction of Sardanapalus, Arbaces being

[p] Chap. 1. section 13.

the most mighty, sought to get all to himself, but was opposed by Belosus; in which contention one Phul, a powerful man in Assyria, sided with Belosus, and they two prevailed so far, that finally Arbaces was content to share the empire with them, making such a division thereof, as was long after made of the Roman empire between Octavian, Anthony, and Lepidus.

Another conjecture is, (for Torniellus offers not this, or the rest, as matter of certainty,) that Arbaces made himself sovereign lord of all, and placed the seat of his empire in Media, appointing Belosus his lieutenant in Babylonia, and Phul in Assyria. But in short space, that is in four years, it came to pass, by the just judgment of God, that Phul and Belosus rebelled against Arbaces, like as Arbaces had done against Sardanapalus, and, instead of being his viceroys, made themselves absolute kings. And to this latter opinion Torniellus himself leans, holding it much the more probable, as being more agreeable to that which is found in profane histories. Why he did make and publish the former supposition, resolving to hold the latter, I shall anon, without any wrong to him, make bold to guess. Having thus devised how Phul and Belosus might, at the first, attain to be kings, he orders their time and their successors in this manner.

Four years after Arbaces, Phul begins to reign, and continues eight and forty years. Theglat-phalasar (whose name, and the names of other princes, I write diversely, according as the authors whom I have in hand are pleased to diversify them) succeeding unto Phul, reigned three and twenty. Salmanassar followed him, and reigned ten. After him Sennacherib reigned seven: and when he was slain, Asarhaddon his son ten years; in whom that line failed.

The same time that Phul took upon him as king of Assyria, or not long after, (why not rather afore? for so it had been more likely,) Belosus usurped the kingdom of Babylon, and held it threescore and eight years; at the least threescore and eight years did pass before Nabonassar followed him in the possession.

To Nabonassar, whom, with Scaliger, he thinks to be Baladan, are assigned six and twenty years; then two and fifty to Merodach,or Mardocempadus; four and twenty to Ben Merodach; and lastly, one and twenty to Nabolassar, the father of Nabuchodonosor, who is like to offer matter of further disputation.

Concerning the original of these Assyrian and Babylonian kingdoms, I may truly say, that the conjectures of other men, who give all to Belosus, and confound him with Phul, appear to me more nearly resembling the truth. Neither do I think that Torniellus would have conceived two different ways, by which Phul might have gotten Assyria, (for how Belosus came to get Babylon, it is plain enough,) if either of them alone could have contented him. He adheres to the latter of the two, as better agreeing with Diodore and other historians. But he perceived that to make Phul on the sudden king of Assyria, or to give him so noble a province, as would of itself invite him to accept the name and power of a king, was a thing most unlikely to have happened, unless his deserts (whereof we find no mention) had been proportionable to so high a reward. And for this cause (as I take it) hath he devised the means, whereby Phul might be made capable of so great a share in the empire. If this were a true or probable supposition, then would a new doubt arise, Why this Phul, being one of the three that divided all between them, was utterly forgotten by all historians? yea, why this division itself, and the civil wars that caused it, were never heard of. Questionless the interverting of some treasures by Belosus, with his judgment, condemnation, and pardon following, were matters of far less note. Therefore I do not see how one of the two inconveniences can this way be avoided; but that either we must confess the dominion given to Phul to have been exceeding his merits, or else his merits, and name withal, to have been strangely forgotten; either of which is enough to make us think, that rather the conjecture inferring such a sequel is wide of the truth. As for the rebellion of Phul and Belosus against Arbaces, it was almost im-

possible for the Assyrians to recover such strength in four years, as might serve to hold out in rebellion: for Belosus it was needless to rebel, considering that Arbaces did not seek to molest him, but rather permitted (as being an over-great favourer of liberty) even the Medes, that were under his own government, to do what they listed.

But it is now fit that we peruse the catalogue of these kings; not passing through them all, (for some will require a large discourse in their own times,) but speaking of their order and time in general. If it be so unlawful to think that some of Annius's tales (let them all be counted his tales which are not found in other authors as well as in his) may be true, especially such as contradict no acknowledged truth, or apparent likelihood, why then is it said that Phul did reign in Assyria eight and forty years? For this hath no other ground than Annius. It is true, that painful and judicious writers have found this number of years to agree fitly with the course of things in history; yet all of them took it from Annius. Let it therefore be the punishment of Annius's forgery, (as questionless he is often guilty of this crime,) that when he tells truth or probability, he be not believed for his own sake; though for our own sakes we make use of his boldness, taking his words for good, whereas (nothing else being offered) we are unwilling ourselves to be authors of new, though not unprobable conjectures. Herein we shall have this commodity, that we may without blushing alter a little to help our own opinions, and lay the blame upon Annius, against whom we shall be sure to find friends that will take our part.

The reigns of Theglathphalassar and Salmanassar did reach, by Annius's measure, to the length of five and twenty years the one, and seventeen the other; Torniellus hath cut off two from the former, and seven from the latter of them, to fit (as I think) his own computation; using the liberty whereof I spake last: for that any author, save our good Metasthenes, or those that borrowed of him, hath gone about to tell how long each of these did reign, it is more than I have yet found. To Sennacherib and Asarhad-

don, Torniellus gives the same length of reign which is found in Metasthenes. I think there are not many that will arrogate so much unto themselves, as may well be allowed unto a man so judicious as is Torniellus: yet could I wish that he had forborne to condemn the followers of Annius in this business, wherein he himself hath chosen, in part, rather to become one of them, than to say, as else he must have done, almost nothing.

The like liberty we find that he hath used in measuring the reigns of the Chaldeans; filling up all the space between the end of Sardanapalus and the beginning of Nabonassar, with the threescore and eight years of Belosus. In this respect it was, perhaps, that he thought Belosus might have begun his reign somewhat later than Phul; for sixty-eight years would seem a long time for him to hold a kingdom, that was no young man when he took possession of it. But how is any whit of his age abated by shortening his reign, seeing his life reacheth to the end of such a time, as were alone, without adding the time wherein he was a private man, enough for a long liver. Indeed forty-eight years had been somewhat of the most, considering that he seems by the story to have been little less at such time as he joined with Arbaces; and therefore the addition of twenty years did well deserve that note, (which Torniellus advisedly gives,) that if his reign extended not so far, then the reign of such as came after him occupied the middle time unto Nabonassar.

I neither do reprehend the boldness of Torniellus in conjecturing, nor the modesty of Scaliger and Sethus Calvisius in forbearing to set down as warrantable, such things as depend only upon likelihood. For things, whereof the perfect knowledge is taken away from us by antiquity, must be described in history, as geographers in their maps describe those countries, whereof as yet there is made no true discovery; that is, either by leaving some part blank, or by inserting the land of pigmies, rocks of loadstone, with headlands, bays, great rivers, and other particularities, agreeable to common report, though many times controlled by fol-

lowing experience, and found contrary to truth. Yet indeed the ignorance growing from distance of place allows not such liberty to a describer, as that which ariseth from the remediless oblivion of consuming time. For it is true that the poet saith;

——————Neque fervidis
Pars inclusa caloribus
Mundi, nec boreæ finitimum latus,
Duratæque sole nives,
Mercatorem abigunt: horrida callidi
Vincunt æquora navitæ.

Nor southern heat, nor northern snow,
That freezing to the ground doth grow,
The subject regions can fence,
And keep the greedy merchant thence.
The subtle shipmen way will find,
Storm never so the seas with wind.

Therefore the fictions (or let them be called conjectures) painted in maps do serve only to mislead such discoverers as rashly believe them, drawing upon the publishers either some angry curses or well deserved scorn; but to keep their own credit, they cannot serve always. To which purpose I remember a pretty jest of Don Pedro de Sarmiento, a worthy Spanish gentleman, who had been employed by his king in planting a colony upon the straits of Magellan: for when I asked him, being then my prisoner, some question about an island in those straits, which methought might have done either benefit or displeasure to his enterprise, he told me merrily, that it was to be called the Painter's Wife's Island; saying, that whilst the fellow drew that map, his wife sitting by desired him to put in one country for her; that she, in imagination, might have an island of her own. But in filling up the blanks of old histories, we need not be so scrupulous. For it is not to be feared that time should run backward, and by restoring the things themselves to knowledge, make our conjectures appear ridiculous: what if some good copy of an ancient

author could be found, shewing (if we have it not already) the perfect truth of these uncertainties? would it be more shame to have believed in the mean while Annius or Torniellus, than to have believed nothing. Here I will not say that the credit which we give to Annius may chance otherwhiles to be given to one of those authors whose names he pretendeth. Let it suffice, that in regard of authority, I had rather trust Scaliger or Torniellus than Annius; yet him than them, if his assertion be more probable, and more agreeable to approved histories than their conjecture, as in this point it seems to me; it having moreover gotten some credit, by the approbation of many, and those not meanly learned.

To end this tedious disputation; I hold it a sure course in examination of such opinions as have once gotten the credit of being general, so to deal as Pacuvius in Capua did with the multitude, finding them desirous to put all the senators of the city to death. He locked the senators up within the state-house, and offered their lives to the people's mercy; obtaining thus much, that none of them should perish, until the commonalty had both pronounced him worthy of death, and elected a better in his place. The condemnation was hasty; for as fast as every name was read, all the town cried, Let him die: but the execution required more leisure; for in substituting another, some notorious vice of the person, or baseness of his condition, or insufficiency of his quality, made each new one that was offered to be rejected; so that finding the worse and less choice, the further and the more that they sought, it was finally agreed, that the old should be kept for lack of better.

SECT. V.

Of the Olympiads, and the time when they began.

AFTER this division of the Assyrian empire, follows the instauration of the Olympian games, by Iphitus, in the reign of the same king Uzziah, and in his fifty-first year. It is, I know, the general opinion, that these games were established by Iphitus, in the first of Jotham: yet is not

that opinion so general, but that authors, weighty enough, have given to them a more early beginning. The truth is, that in fitting those things unto the sacred history, which are found in profane authors, we should not be too careful of drawing the Hebrews to those works of time, which had no reference to their affairs; it is enough, that setting in due order these beginnings of accounts, we join them to matters of Israel and Juda, where occasion requires.

These Olympian games and exercises of activity were first instituted by Hercules, who measured the length of the race by his own foot; by which Pythagoras found out the stature and likely strength of Hercules's body. They took name, not from the mountain Olympus, but from the city Olympia, otherwise Pisa, near unto Elis; where also Jupiter's temple in Elis, famous among the Grecians, and reputed among the wonders of the world, was known by the name of the temple of Jupiter Olympius. These games were exercised from every fourth year complete, in the plains of Elis, a city of Peloponnesus, near the river Alpheus.

After the death of Hercules, these meetings [q] were discontinued for many years, till Iphitus, by advice from the oracle of Apollo, reestablished them, Lycurgus the lawgiver then living: from which time they were continued by the Grecians, till the reign of Theodosius the emperor, according to Cedrenus; other think that they were dissolved under Constantine the Great.

From this institution, Varro accounted the Grecian times and their stories to be certain; but reckoned all before either doubtful or fabulous; and yet [r] Pliny gives little credit to all that is written of Greece, till the reign of Cyrus, who began in the fifty-fifth Olympiad, as Eusebius out of Diodore, Castor, Polybius, and others have gathered, in whose time the seven wise Grecians flourished. For Solon had speech with Crœsus, and Crœsus was overthrown and taken by Cyrus.

[q] Aul. Gell. l. 1. c. 1. ex Plut. Plut. out of Hermippus.
[r] Plin. l. 36. c. 4.

Many patient and piercing brains have laboured to find out the certain beginning of these Olympiads; namely, to set them in the true year of the world, and the reign of such and such kings: but seeing they all differ in the first account, that is, of the world's year, they can hardly jump in particulars thereon depending.

Cyril against Julian, and Didymus, begin the Olympiads the forty-ninth of Osias or Azariah.

[s] Eusebius, who is contrary to himself in this reckoning, accounts with those that find the first Olympiad in the beginning of the four hundred and sixth year after Troy; yet he telleth us that it was in the fiftieth year of Uzziah, which is (as I find it) two years later.

[t] Eratosthenes placeth the first Olympiad four hundred and seven years after Troy, reckoning the years that passed between; to whom Dionysius Halicarnassæus, Diodorus Siculus, Solinus, and many others adhere.

The distance between the destruction of Troy and the first Olympiad is thus collected by Eratosthenes. From the taking of Troy to the descent of Hercules's posterity into Peloponnesus were fourscore years; thence to the Ionian expedition, threescore years; from that expedition to the time of Lycurgus's government in Sparta, one hundred fifty-nine; and thence to the first Olympiad, one hundred and eight years. In this account the first year of the first Olympiad is not included.

But vain labour it were to seek the beginning of the Olympiads by numbering the years from the taking of Troy, which is of a date far more uncertain. Let it suffice, that by knowing the instauration of these games to have been in the four hundred and eighth year current after Troy, we may reckon back to the taking of that city, setting that and other accidents, which have reference thereto, in their proper times. The certainty of things following the Olympiads must teach us how to find when they began.

[s] Euseb. de Præp. Evang. l. 10. c. 3.
[t] Eratosth. apud Clem. Alexand. Strom. l. 1.

To this good use we have the ensuing years, unto the death of Alexander the Great, thus divided by the same Eratosthenes. From the beginning of the Olympiads to the passage of Xerxes into Greece, two hundred fourscore and seventeen years; from thence to the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, eight and forty years; forwards to the victory of Lysander, seven and twenty; to the battle of Leuctra, thirty-four; to the death of Philip king of Macedon, five and thirty; and finally to the death of Alexander, twelve. The whole sum ariseth to four hundred fifty-three years; which number he otherwise also collecteth, and it is allowed by the most.

Now for placing the institution of the Olympiads in the one and fiftieth year of Uzziah, we have arguments grounded upon that which is certain concerning the beginning of Cyrus's reign and the death of Alexander; as also upon the astronomical calculation of sundry eclipses of the sun; as of that which happened when Xerxes set out of Sardis with his army to invade Greece; and of divers other.

Touching Cyrus, it is generally agreed that his reign as king, before he was lord of the great monarchy, began the first year of the five and fiftieth Olympiad, and that he reigned thirty years; they who give him but twenty-nine years of reign (following Herodotus, rather than [u] Tully, Justin, Eusebius, and others) begin a year later, which comes all to one reckoning. So is the death of Alexander set by all good writers in the first year of the hundred and fourteenth Olympiad. This later note of Alexander's death serves well to lead us back to the beginning of Cyrus, as many the like observations do. For if we reckon upwards from the time of Alexander, we shall find all to agree with the years of the Olympiads, wherein Cyrus began his reign, either as king, or (taking the word *monarch* to signify a lord of many kingdoms) as a great monarch. From the beginning of Cyrus, in the first year of the fifty-fifth Olympiad,

[u] Tull. de Div. l. 1. Just. l. 1. de Dem. Evang. l. 8. c. 2. Euseb. de Præp. Evang. l. 10. c 3. et

unto the end of the Persian empire, which was in the third of the hundred and twelfth Olympiad, we find two hundred and thirty years complete: from the beginning of Cyrus's monarchy, which lasted but seven years, we find complete two hundred and seven years which was the continuance of the Persian empire.

Now therefore seeing that the first year of Cyrus's monarchy (which was the last of the sixtieth Olympiad, and the two hundred and fortieth year from the institution of those games by Iphitus) followed the last of the seventy years of the captivity of Juda, and desolation of the land of Israel; manifest it is, that we must reckon back those seventy years, and one hundred and seventy years more, the last which passed under the kings of Juda, to find the first of these Olympiads; which by this account is the fifty-first of Uzziah, as we have already noted.

The eclipses whereof we made mention serve well to the same purpose. For example's sake, that which was seen when Xerxes mustered his army at Sardis, in the two hundred and sixty-seventh year of Nabonassar, being the last of the seventy-fourth Olympiad, leads us back unto the beginning of Xerxes, and from him to Cyrus; whence we have a fair way through the seventy years unto the destruction of Jerusalem; and so upwards through the reigns of the last kings of Juda, to the fifty-first year of Uzziah.

Thus much may suffice concerning the time wherein these Olympiads began.

To tell the great solemnity of them, and with what exceeding great concourse of all Greece they were celebrated, I hold it a superfluous labour. It is enough to say, that all bodily exercises, or the most of them, were therein practised; as running, wrestling, fighting, and the like. Neither did they only contend for the mastery in those feats, whereof there was good use, but in running of chariots, fighting with whirlbats, and other the like ancient kinds of exercises, that served only for ostentation. Thither also repaired orators, poets, musicians, and all that thought themselves excellent in any laudable quality, to make trial of their

skill. Yea, the very criers, which proclaimed the victories, contended which of them should get the honour of having played the best part.

The Eleans were presidents of those games; whose justice, in pronouncing without partiality who did best, is highly commended. As for the rewards given to the victors, they were none other than garlands of palm or olive, without any other commodity following than the reputation. Indeed there needed no more. For that was held so much, that when Diagoras had seen his three sons crowned for their several victories in those games, one came running to him with this gratulation; *Morere, Diagoras, non enim in cœlum ascensurus es;* that is, "Die, Diagoras, for "thou shalt not climb up to heaven;" as if there could be no greater happiness on earth, than what already had befallen him. In the like sense [x] Horace speaks of these victors, calling them,

Quos Elæa domum reducit
Palma cœlestes.

Such as like heavenly wights do come
With an Elean garland home.

Neither was it only the voice of the people, or the songs of poets, that so highly extolled them which had won these Olympian prizes, but even grave historians thought it a matter worthy of their noting. Such was (as [y] Tully counts it) the vanity of the Greeks, that they esteemed it almost as great an honour to have won the victory at running or wrestling in those games, as to have triumphed in Rome for some famous victory, or conquest of a province.

That these Olympian games were celebrated at the full of the moon, and upon the fifteenth day of the month Hecatombæon, which doth answer to our June; and what means they used to make the month begin with the new moon, that the fifteenth day might be the full, I have shewed in another place. Wherefore I may now return unto the kings of Juda, and leave the merry Greeks at their games, whom I shall meet in more serious employments, when the

[x] Horat. Carm. l. 4. ode 2. [y] Tull. in Orat. pro Flacco.

Persian quarrels draw the body of this history into the coasts of Ionia and Hellespont.

SECT. VI.

Of Jotham and his contemporaries.

JOTHAM the son of Uzziah, when he was twenty-five years old, and in the second of [z] Pekah king of Israel, was anointed king in Jerusalem, his father yet living. He built an exceeding high gate to the temple, of threescore cubits upright, and therefore called Ophel; besides divers cities in the hills of Juda, and in the forests, towers, and palaces: he enforced the Ammonites to pay him tribute, to wit, of silver an hundred talents, and of wheat and barley two thousand measures: he reigned twenty-six years; of whom Josephus gives this testimony: *Ejusmodi vero princeps hic fuit, ut nullum in eo virtutis genus desideres: ut qui Deum adeo pie coluerit, hominibus suis adeo juste præfuerit, urbem ipsam tantæ sibi curæ esse passus sit, et tantopere auxerit, ut universum regnum hostibus quidem minime contemnendum, domesticis autem ejus incolis atque civibus felix, faustum et fortunatum sua virtute effecerit;* "This "was such a prince, as a man could find no kind of virtue "wanting in him: he worshipped God so religiously, he "governed his men so righteously, he was so provident for "the city, and did so greatly amplify it, that by his virtue "and prowess he made his whole kingdom not contemptible "to his enemies, but to his servants, inhabitants, and citi-"zens, prosperous and happy."

This is all that I find of Jotham: his reign was not long, but as happy in all things as he himself was devout and virtuous.

Auchomenes about this time succeeded Phelesteus in Corinth: after whom the Corinthians erected magistrates, which governed from year to year. And yet Pausanias in his second book, with Strabo and Plutarch in many places, are of opinion, that Corinth was governed by kings of the race of the Bacidæ, to the time of Cypselus, who drove them out.

[z] 2 Kings xv. 33.

[a] Teglathphalassar, or Tiglathpeleser, the son of Phul, the second of the Babylonians and Assyrians that was of this new race, about this time invaded Israel, while Pekah (who murdered his master Pekaiah) was king thereof. In which expedition he took most of the cities of Nephthali and Galilee, with those of Gilead, over Jordan, and carried the inhabitants captive. This Tiglath reigned five and twenty years, according to Metasthenes. But Krentzhemius finds, that with his son Salmanassar he reigned yet two years longer; which years I would not ascribe to the son, because the era of Nabonassar begins with his single reign, but reckon them to Tiglath Phulassar himself, who therewith reigned seven and twenty years.

Æschylus the son of Agamnestor, about the same time, the twelfth archon in Athens, ruled five and twenty years. Alcamenes governed Sparta: after whom the estate changed, according to Eusebius: but therein surely Eusebius is mistaken; for Diodore, Plutarch, Pausanias, and others, witness the contrary. [b] Pausanias affirmeth, that Polydorus, a prince of eminent virtues, succeeded his father, and reigned threescore years, and outlived the Messeniac war, which was ended by Theopompus the son of Nicander, his royal companion.

At this time lived Nahum the prophet, who foretold the destruction of the Assyrian empire, and of the city of Nineveh; which succeeded (saith Josephus) an hundred and fifteen years after. The cities of Cyrene and of Aradus were built at this time, while in Media Sosarmus and Mididus reigned, being the second and third kings of those parts.

SECT. VII.

Of Ahaz and his contemporaries.

AHAS, or Achaz, succeeded unto Jotham in the [c] seventeenth year of Pekah the son of Remalia; the same being also the last year of his father's reign, who began in the second of the same Pekah, and reigned sixteen, but not complete years. This Ahaz was an idolater, exceeding all his predecessors. He made molten images for Baalim, and

[a] 2 Kings xv. [b] Paus. l. 3. [c] 2 Kings xvi. 1. 2 Chron. xxviii.

burnt his son for sacrifice before the idol Moloch, or Saturn, which was represented by a manlike brasen body, bearing the head of a calf, set up not far from Jerusalem, in a valley shadowed with woods, called Gehinnon, or Tophet, from whence the word Gehenna is used for hell. The children offered were enclosed within the carcass of this idol, and as the fire increased, so the sacrificers, with a noise of cymbals and other instruments, filled the air, to the end the pitiful cries of the children might not be heard: which unnatural, cruel, and devilish oblation, [d]Jeremy the prophet vehemently reprehendeth, and of which St. Jerome upon the tenth of Matthew hath written at large. By the prohibition in Leviticus the eighteenth, it appeareth that this horrible sin was ancient: in the twelfth of Deuteronomy, it is called an abomination which God hateth. That it was also practised elsewhere, and by many nations remote from Judæa, divers authors witness; as Virgil in the second of his Æneids, *Sanguine placâstis*, &c. and Silius, *Poscere cæde deos.* Saturn is said to have brought this custom into Italy, besides the casting of many souls into the river of Tiber, instead of which Hercules commanded that the waxen images of men should be thrown in and drowned. The Devil also taught the Carthaginians this kind of butchery, insomuch that when their city was besieged and in distress, the priest made them believe, that because they had spared their own children, and had bought and brought up others to be offered, that therefore Saturn had stirred up and strengthened their enemies against them: whereupon they presently caused two hundred of the noblest youths of their city to be slain, and offered to Saturn, or Satan, to appease him; who, besides these forenamed nations, had instructed the [e]Rhodians, the people of Crete and Chios, of Messena, of Galatia, with the Massagets, and others, in these his services: further, as if he were not content to destroy the souls of many nations in Europe, Asia, and Africa, (as [f]Acosta writeth,) the Mexicans, and other people of America, were brought by the

[d] 2 Chron. vii. 19—32.
[e] Euseb. de Præp. Evang. l. 6. Diod. l. 2. Diod. l. 20.
[f] Acost. de Hist. nat. et mor. Ind.

Devil under this fearful servitude, in which he also holdeth the Floridans and Virginians at this day.

For the wickedness of this king Ahaz, God stirred up Rezin of Damascus, and Pekah the son of Remalia, king of Israel, against him, who invaded Judæa, and besieged Jerusalem, but entered it not.

The king of Syria, Rezin, possessed himself of Elah by the Red sea, and cast the Jews out of it; and Pekah slaughtered in one day [g] an hundred and twenty thousand Judæans, of the ablest of the kingdom; at which time Maaseiah the son of Achaz was also slain by Zichri, with Azrikam the governor of his house, and Elcanah the second person unto the king. Besides all this, two hundred thousand prisoners of women and children the Israelites led away to Samaria; but by the counsel of the prophet Oded they were returned and delivered back again.

As Irsael and Aram vexed Juda on the north, so the Edomites and the Philistines, who evermore attended the ruin of Judæa, entered upon them from the south, and took Bethsemes, Ajalon, Gaderoth, Socho, Timnah, and Gemzo, [h] slew many people, and carried away many prisoners. Whereupon, when Achaz saw himself environed on all sides, and that his idols and dead gods gave him no comfort, he sent to the Assyrian Tiglathpileser, to desire some aid from him against the Israelites and Aramites, presenting him with the silver and gold both of the [i] temple and king's house.

Tiglathpileser wanted not a good example to follow, in making profit of the troubles that rose in Palæstina. His father having lately made himself, from a provincial lieutenant, king of Babylon and Assyria, had a little before led him the way into Judæa, invited by Menahem king of Israel. Wherefore now the son willingly hearkened to Achaz, and embraced the advantage. As for Belochus himself, he was content to assign some other time for going through with this enterprise; because (as I have said before) he was not firmly settled at home, and the Syrian kings lay directly

[g] 2 Chron. xxviii. 6. [h] 2 Chron. xxviii. [i] 2 King xvi.

in his way, who were yet strong both in men and fame. But Tiglath, having now with the treasures of Jerusalem prepared his army, first invaded the territory of Damascus, won the city, and killed Rezin, the last of the race of the Adads, who began with David, and ended with this Achaz. At Damascus Achaz met Tiglath, and taking thence a pattern of the altar, sent it to Uriah the priest, commanding the like to be made at Jerusalem, whereon at his return he burnt sacrifice to the gods of the Syrians. In the mean while Tiglath possessed all Basan, and the rest beyond Jordan, which belonged to the tribe of Reuben, Gad, and Manasseh. And then passing the river, he mastered the cities of Galilee, invaded Ephraim, and the kingdom of Israel, and made them his vassals. And notwithstanding that he was invited and waged by Achaz, yet after the spoil of Israel he possessed himself of the greater part of Juda, and as it seemeth enforced Achaz to pay him tribute. For in the second of Kings, the eighteenth, it is written of Ezechiah, that he revolted from Ashur, or rebelled against him, and therefore was invaded by Sennacherib. After Ahaz had beheld and borne these miseries, in the end of the sixteenth year of his reign he died, but was not buried in the sepulchres of the kings of Juda.

With Ahaz lived Medidus, the third prince in Media, who governed forty years, saith [k] Eusebius: Diodorus and Ctesias find Anticarmus, instead of this Medidus, to have been Sosarmus's successor, to whom they give fifty years.

Tiglath Phileser held the kingdom of Assyria all the reign of Ahaz; yet so, that Salmanassar his son may seem to have reigned with him some part of the time: for we find that Ahaz did [l] *send unto the kings of Ashur to help him*. The Geneva note says, that these kings of Ashur were Tiglath Pileser, and those kings that were under his dominion. But that he or his father had hitherto made such conquests, as might give him the lordship over other kings, I do neither find any history nor circumstance that proveth. Wherefore I think that these kings of Ashur

[k] Euseb. in Chron. [l] 2 Chron. xxviii. 16.

were Tiglath, and Salmanassar his son, who reigned with his father, as hath been said before: though how long he reigned with his father, it be hard to define.

At this time began the ephori in Lacedæmon, a hundred and thirty years after Lycurgus, according to [m] Plutarch. Eusebius makes their beginning far later, namely, in the fifteenth Olympiad. Of these ephori, Elalus was the first, Theopompus and Polydorus being then joint kings. These ephori, chosen every year, were comptrollers as well of their senators as of their kings, nothing being done without their advice and consent. For (saith Cicero) they were opposed against their kings, as the Roman tribunes against the consuls. In the time of Ahaz died Æschylus, who had ruled in Athens ever since the fiftieth year of Uzziah. Alcamenon, the thirteenth of the Medontidæ, or governors of the Athenians, (so called of Medon, who followed Codrus,) succeeded his father Æschylus, and was the last of these governors: he ruled only two years. For the Athenians changed first from kings (after Codrus) to governors for life; which ending in this Alcamenon, they erected a magistrate whom they termed an archon, who was a kind of burgomaster, or governor of their city, for ten years.

This alteration Pausanias, in his fourth book, begins in the first year of the eighth Olympiad. Eusebius and Halicarnassæus, in the first of the seventh Olympiad; at which time indeed Carops the first of these began his ten years rule.

The kingdom of the Latins, governed about three hundred year by the Sylvii, of the race of Æneas, took end in the same Ahaz's time; the foundation of Rome being laid by Romulus and Remus in the eighth year of the same king. Codoman builds it the eleventh of Ahaz, Bucholzer in the eighth, (as I think he should,) others somewhat later, and in the reign of Ezechias. Cicero, Eutropius, Orosius, and others, square the time of the foundation to the third year of the sixth Olympiad. But Halicarnassæus, Solinus Antiochenus, Clemens Alexandrinus, and Eusebius, to the

[m] Plut. in Vita Sol.

first year of the seventh; who seem not only to me, but to many very learned chronologers, to have kept herein the best account.

CHAP. XXIV.

Of the antiquities of Italy, and foundation of Rome in the time of Ahaz.

SECT. I.

Of the old inhabitants, and of the name of Italy.

AND here to speak of the more ancient times of Italy, and what nations possessed it before the arrival of Æneas, the place may seem to invite us; the rather because much fabulous matter hath been mixed with the truth of those elder plantations. Italy, before the fall of Troy, was known to the Greeks by divers names; as first Hesperia, then Ausonia, the one name arising of the seat, the other of the Ausones, a people inhabiting part of it: one ancient name of it was also Œnotria, which it had of the Œnotri; whom [n] Halicarnassæus thinks to have been the first that brought a colony of Arcadians into that land. Afterwards it was called Italy, of Italus: concerning which changes of names Virgil speaks thus:

Est locus Hesperiam Graii cognomine dicunt:
Terra antiqua, potens armis, atque ubere glebæ:
Œnotrii coluere viri, nunc fama minores
Italiam dixisse, ducis de nomine, gentem.

There is a land which Greeks Hesperia name,
Ancient and strong, of much fertility.
Œnotrians held it, but we hear by fame,
That by late ages of posterity,
'Tis from a captain's name call'd Italy.

Who this captain or king may have been, it is very uncertain: for Virgil speaks no more of him, and the opinions of others are many and repugnant. But like enough it is, that the name which hath continued so long upon the whole

[n] Halicar. l. 1.

country, and worn out all other denominations, was not at the first accepted without good cause. Therefore to find out the original of this name, and the first planters of this noble country, Reineccius hath made a very painful search, and not improbable conjecture. And first of all he grounds upon that of [o] Halicarnassæus, who speaks of a colony which the Eleans did lead into Italy, before the name of Italy was given to it; secondly, upon that of [p] Justin, who saith, that Brundusium was a colony of the Ætolians; thirdly, upon that of [q] Strabo, who affirms the same of Temesa, or Tempsa, a city of the Brutii in Italy; lastly, upon the authority of [r] Pliny, who shews that the Italians did inhabit only one region of the land, whence afterwards the name was derived over all. Concerning that which is said of the Eleans and Ætolians, who (as he shews) had one original; from them he brings the name of Italy. For the word Italia differs in nothing from Aitolia, save that the first letter is cast away, which in the Greek words is common, and the letter *o* is changed into *a*; which change is found in the name of Ethalia, an island near Italy, peopled by the Etholians: and the like changes are very familiar in the Æolic dialect; of which dialect (being almost proper to the Ætolians) the accent and pronunciation, together with many words little altered, were retained by the Latins, as Dionysius Halicarnassæus, Quintilian, and Priscian the grammarian teach. Hereunto appertains that of Julian the apostate, who called the Greeks cousins of the Latins. Also the common original of the Greeks and Latins from Javan; and the fable of Janus, whose image had two faces, looking east and west, as Greece and Italy lay, and was stamped on coins, with a ship on the other side; all which is, by interpretation, referred to Javan, father of the Greeks and Latins; who sailing over the Ionian sea, that lies between Ætolia and the western parts of Greece and Italy, planted colonies in both. Now whereas Reineccius thinks that the names of Atlas and Italus belonged both to one man, and thereto applies that of Berosus, who called Cethim Italus;

[o] Halicar. l. 1. [p] Justin. l. 12. [q] Strabo, l. 6. [r] Plin. l. 3. c. 5.

though it may seem strengthened by the marriage of Dardanus, whilst he abode in Italy with Electra, the daughter of Atlas; yet is it by arguments, in my valuation greater and stronger, easily disproved. For they who make mention of Atlas, place him before the time of Moses: and if Atlas were Cethim, or Kittim, then was he the son of Javan, and nephew of Japheth, the eldest son of Noah; which antiquity far exceeds the name of Italy, that began after the departure of Hercules out of the country, not long before the war of Troy.

Likewise Virgil, who speaks of Atlas, and of Dardanus's marriage with Electra, hath nothing of his meeting with her in Italy, but calleth Electra and her sister Maia (poetically) daughters of the mountain Atlas in Africa, naming Italus among the kings of the aborigines; which he would not have done, had Atlas and Italus been one person.

As for the authority of Berosus in this case, we need the less to regard it, for that Reineccius himself, whose conjectures are more to be valued than the dreams wherewith Annius hath filled Berosus, holds it but a figment.

That the name of Italy began long after Atlas, it appears by the verses of Virgil last rehearsed, wherein he would not have said, *Nunc fama minores Italiam dixisse, Ducis de nomine, gentem*, had that name been heard of ere Dardanus left the country. But seeing that when Hercules, who died a few years before the war of Troy, had left in Italy a colony of the Eleans, (who in a manner were one and the same nation with the Ætolians, as Strabo, Herodotus, and Pausanias teach,) then the name of Italy began: and seeing Virgil makes mention of Italus among the Italian kings, it were no great boldness to say, that Italus was commander of these Eleans. For though I remember not that I have read of any such Greek as was named Italus, yet the name of Ætolus, written in Greek Aitolos, was very famous both among the Ætolians and among the Eleans, he being son of a king of Elis, and founder of the Ætolian kingdom. Neither is it more hard to derive the name Italus from Ætolus, than Italia from Ætolia. So may Virgil's

authority stand well with the collections of Reineccius; the name of Italy being taken both from a captain, and from the nation of which he and his people were.

SECT. II.

Of the aborigines, and other inhabitants of Latium, and of the reason of the names of Latini and Latium.

IN Italy the Latins and Hetrurians were most famous; the Hetrurians having held the greatest part of it under their subjection; and the Latins, by the virtue and felicity of the Romans, who were a branch of them, subduing all Italy, and in few ages whatsoever nation was known in Europe; together with all the western parts of Asia and north of Africk.

The region called Latium was first inhabited by the aborigines, whom Halicarnassæus, Varro, and Reineccius, following them, think to have been Arcadians: and this name of aborigines (to omit other significations that are strained) imports as much as *original*, or native of the place, which they possessed: which title the Arcadians are known in vaunting manner to have always usurped, fetching their antiquity from beyond the moon, because indeed neither were the inhabitants of Peloponnesus enforced to forsake their seats so oft as other Greeks were, who dwelt without that half-island, neither had the Arcadians so unsure a dwelling as the rest of the Peloponnesians, because their country was less fruitful in land, mountainous, and hard of access, and they themselves (as in such places commonly are found) very warlike men. Some of these therefore having occupied a great part of Latium, and held it long, did according to the Arcadian manner style themselves aborigines, in that language, which either their new seat or their neighbours thereby had taught them. How it might be, that the Acardians who dwelt somewhat far from sea, and are always noted as unapt men to prove good mariners, should have been authors of new discoveries, were a question not easy to be answered, were it not so, that both fruitfulness of children, in which those ages abounded, enforceth a superfluous company to seek another seat, and that some

expeditions of the Arcadians, as especially that of Evander, into the same parts of Italy, are generally acknowledged.

After the aborigines were the Pelasgi, an ancient nation, who sometimes gave name to all Greece: but their antiquities are long since dead for lack of good records. Neither was their glory such in Italy, as could long sustain the name of their own tribe; for they were in short space accounted one people with the former inhabitants. The Sicani, Ausones, Aurunci, Rutili, and other people, did in ages following disturb the peace of Latium, which by Saturn was brought to some civility, and he therefore canonized as a God.

This Saturn St. Augustine calleth Sterces, or Sterculius, others term him Stercutius, and say, that he taught the people to dung their grounds. That Latium took his name of Saturn, because he did *latere*, that is, lie hidden there, when he fled from Jupiter, it is questionless a fable. For as in heathenish superstition it was great vanity to think that any thing could be hidden from God, or that there were many gods of whom one fled from another; so in the truth of history it is well known, that no king reigning in those parts was so mighty, that it should be hard to find one country or another wherein a man might be safe from his pursuit. And yet, as most [s] fables and poetical fictions were occasioned by some ancient truth, which either by ambiguity of speech or some allusion, they did maimedly and darkly express; (for so they feigned a passage over a river in hell, because death is a passage to another life, and because this passage is hateful, lamentable, and painful, therefore they named the river Styx of hate, Cocytus of lamentation, and Acheron of pain; so also because men are stony-hearted, and because the Greek λαοὶ *people*, and λᾶες *stones*, are near in sound, therefore they feigned in the time of Deucalion stones converted into men, as at other times men into stones;) in like manner it may be, that the original of Saturn's hiding himself was some allusion to that old opinion of the wisest of the heathen, that the true God

[s] See lib. 1. cap. 6. sect. 1. et seq.

was *ignotus Deus*, as it is noted in Acts xvii. 23. whence also [t] Isaiah of the true God says, *Tu Deus abdens te*. For it cannot be in vain that the word Saturnus should also have this very signification, if it be derived (as some think) from the Hebrew Satar, which is to hide: howbeit I deny not, but that the original of this word Latium ought rather to be sought elsewhere.

Reineccius doth conjecture, that the Cetean, who descended of Cethim the son of Javan, were the men who gave the name to Latium. For these Ceteans are remembered by Homer as aiders of the Trojans in their war. Strabo, interpreting the place of Homer, calls them subjects to the crown of Troy. Hereupon Reineccius gathers, that their abode was in Asia, viz. *in agro Elaitico;* "in the Elai-"tian territory," which agreeth with Strabo. Of a city which the Æolians held in Asia, called Elæa, or Elaia, Pausanias makes mention: Stephanus calls it Cidæmis, or (according to the Greek writing) Cidamis, which name last rehearsed hath a very near sound to Cethim, Citim, or Cithim; the Greek letter *d* having (as many teach) a pronunciation very like to *th*, differing only in the strength or weakness of utterance, which is found between many English words written with the same letters. Wherefore that these Ceteans being descended of Cethim, Cittim, or Kittim, the son of Javan, who was progenitor of the Greeks, might very well take a denomination from the city and region which they inhabited, and from thence be called Elæites, or Elaites, it is very likely, considering that among the Arcadians, Phocians, Ætolians, and Eleans, who all were of the Æolic tribe, are found the names of the mountain Elæus, the haven Eleas, the people Elaitæ, the cities Elæus, Elaia, and Elateia, of which last it were somewhat harsh in the Latin tongue to call the inhabitants by any other name than Elatini, from whence Latini may come. Now whereas both the Cetæi and Arcadians had their original from Cethim, it is nothing unlikely, that agreeing in language and similitude

[t] Isaiah xlv. 15.

of names, they might nevertheless differ in sound and pronunciation of one and the same word. So that as he is by many called Sabinus, to whom some (deriving the Sabines from him) give the name of Sabus: in the like manner might he whom the Arcadians would call Elatus, (of which name they had a prince that founded the city Elateia,) be named of the Ceteans, Latinus. Reineccius, pursuing this likelihood, thinks, that when Euripylus, lord of the Ceteans, being the son of Telephus, whom Hercules begat upon Auge, the daughter of Aleus king of Arcadia, was slain by Achilles in the Trojan war: then did Telephus, brother to Euripylus, conduct the Ceteans, who (fearing what evil might befall themselves by the Greeks, if the affairs of Troy should go ill) passed into that part of Italy where the Arcadians were planted by Œnotrus. And Reineccius further thinks, that Telephus being the more gracious among the Œnotrian Arcadians, by the memory of his grandmother Auge, an Arcadian lady, was well contented to take an Arcadian name, and to be called Elatus, which in the dialect and pronunciation either of the Ceteans or of the Œnotrians was first Elatinus, and then Latinus: that this name of Elatus may have been taken or imposed by the Arcadians, it is the more easy to be thought, for that there were then two families, the one of Aphidus, the other of Elatus, who were sons of Arcas king of Arcadia, which gave name to the country; and between these two families the succession in that kingdom did pass almost interchangeably for many ages, till at the end of the Trojan war it fell into the hand of Hippothous of the race of Elatus, in whose posterity it continued until the last. Again, the name Latinus having a derivative sound, agrees the better with the supposition of such an accident. This is the conjecture of Reineccius, which if he made over-boldly, yet others may follow it with the less reproof, considering that it is not easy to find either an apparent truth or fair probability among these disagreeing authors, which have written the originals of Latium.

SECT. III.

Of the ancient kings of the Latins until Æneas's coming.

THE kings which reigned in Latium before the arrival of Æneas, were Saturnus, Picus, Faunus, and Latinus. Of Saturn there is nothing remembered, save what is mentioned already, and many fables of the Greeks, which whether they be appliable to this man, it is for him to judge who shall be able to determine whether this were the Saturn of the Greeks, called by them Κρόνος, or some other, styled Saturn by the aborigines. For the age wherein he lived may very well admit him to have been the same; but the names of [u] Sterces and Stercutius, (for it may be this name was not borrowed from the skill which he taught the people, but rather the soil which they laid on their grounds, had that appellation from him,) do rather make him seem some other man.

Of Picus it is said that he was a good horseman. The fable of his being changed into a bird, which we call a pie, may well seem (as it is interpreted) to have grown from the skill which he had in soothsaying, or divination, by the flight and chattering of fowls. Faunus the son of Picus reigned after his father. He gave to Evander the Arcadian (who having slain by mischance his father Echemus king of Arcadia, fled into Italy) the waste grounds on which Rome was afterward built.

Fauna, called Fatua, the sister of Faunus, was also his wife, as all historians agree; she was held a propheteas, and highly commended for her chastity; which praise in her must needs have been much blemished by her marriage, itself being merely incestuous.

It is not mentioned that Faunus had by his sister any child, neither do we read of any other wife which he had, save only that Virgil, Æneid 7, gives unto him Latinus as his son, by a nymph called Marica.

[u] Ezekiel often calls the idols of the heathen *Deos stercoreos;* and hence it may be, that in the Evangelist we read for Belzebub, Belzebul, which is interpreted *Dominus stercoreus:* and it may be that after that Saturn became the name of an idol, it pleased God that in a like sense this name Stercutius should stick unto him.

But who this Marica was, it is not found, save only that her abode was about the river Liris near Minturnæ.

Of the name Latinus, there are by Pomponius Sabinus recounted four; one, the son of Faunus; another, of Hercules; a third, of Ulysses by Circe; the fourth, of Telemachus. [x] Suidas takes notice only of the second, of whom he saith, that his name was Telephus, and the people, anciently named the Cetii, were from his surname called Latini. This agrees in effect with the opinion of Reineccius, the difference consisting almost in this only, that Suidas calls Telephus the son of Hercules, whereas Reineccius makes him his nephew, by a son of the same name. This Latinus having obtained the succession in that kingdom after Faunus, did promise his only daughter and heir Lavinia to Turnus the son of Venilia, who was sister to Amata, Latinus's wife.

But when Æneas arrived in those parts with fifteen ships, or perhaps fewer, wherein might be embarked, according to the rate which Thucydides allows to the vessels then used, about one thousand and two hundred men: then Latinus finding that it would stand best with his assurance to make alliance with the Trojan, and moved with the great reputation of Æneas, which himself had heard of in the war of Troy, gave his daughter to him, breaking off the former appointment with Turnus, who incensed herewith sought to avenge himself by war, which was soon ended with his own death.

Of Amata the wife of Latinus, it is very certain, that were she an Italian, she could not have borne a daughter marriageable at the arrival of Æneas; unless we should wholly follow Suidas, and rather give the conduct of the Cetii into Italy to Telephus the father, than to his son, who served in the last year of the Trojan war. But Reineccius holds her an Asiatic, and thinks withal that Lavinia was born before Telephus came into Italy. That this name Amata, by which Virgil and Halicarnassæus call her, was not proper, but rather a surname, it may seem by Varro, who calleth her Palatia; which name very well might be

[x] Suidas in the word *Latini*.

derived from the Greek name Pallas. Amata, which signifieth *beloved*, or *dear*, was the name by which the high priest called every virgin whom he took to serve as a nun of Vesta; wherefore it is the more easily to be thought a surname, howsoever Virgil discourse of her and Venilia her sister.

Lavinia, the daughter of Latinus, being given in marriage to Æneas, the kingdom of Latium, or the greatest part of that country, was established in that race; wherein it continued until it was overgrown by the might and greatness of the Romans.

SECT. IV.

Of Æneas, and of the kings and governors of Alba.

ÆNEAS himself being of the royal blood of Troy, had the command of the Dardanians; he was a valiant man, very rich, and highly honoured among the Trojans. By his wife Creusa, the daughter of Priamus, he had a son called Ascanius, whose surname was Iulus, having before the ruin of Troy (as Virgil notes) been surnamed Ilus. But when Æneas was dead, his wife Lavinia, the daughter of Latinus, being great with child by him, and fearing the power of this Ascanius, fled into the woods, where she was delivered of a son, called thereupon Sylvius, and surnamed Posthumus, because he was born after his father's funeral. This flight of Lavinia was so evil taken by the people, that Ascanius procured her return, entreated her honourably, and using her as a queen, did foster her young son, his half brother Sylvius. Yet afterwards, whether to avoid all occasions of disagreement, or delighted with the situation of the place, Ascanius leaving to his mother-in-law the city of Lavinium, which Æneas had built, and called after his new wife's name, founded the city Alba Longa, and therein reigned. The time of his reign was, according to some, eight and twenty years; Virgil gives him thirty; others, five and thirty, and eight and thirty. After his decease, there arose contention between Sylvius the son of Æneas and Iulus the son of Ascanius about the kingdom; but the people inclining to the son of Lavinia, Iulus was contented to hold the priesthood, which he and his race enjoyed,

leaving the kingdom to Sylvius Posthumus, whose posterity were afterwards called Sylvii.

The reign of the Alban kings, with the continuance of each man's reign, I find thus set down:

	Years.
1. Sylvius Posthumus - - - -	29
2. Sylvius Æneas - - - - -	31
3. Sylvius Latinus - - - - -	50
4. Sylvius Alba - - - - -	39
5. Sylvius Atis - - - - -	26
6. Sylvius Capys - - - - -	28
7. Sylvius Capetus - - - -	13
8. Sylvius Tiberinus - - - -	8
9. Sylvius Agrippa - - - -	41
10. Sylvius Alladius - - - -	19
11. Sylvius Aventinus - - - -	37
12. Sylvius Procas - - - -	23
13. Sylvius Amulius - - - -	44
Sylvius Numitor.	
Ilia, called also Rhea and Sylvia.	
Romulus, Remus.	

The most of these kings lived in peace, and did little or nothing worthy of remembrance.

Latinus founded many towns in the borders of Latium; who, standing much upon the honour of their original, grew thereby to be called Prisci Latini. Of Tiberinus some think that the river Tiber had name, being formerly called Albula; but Virgil gives it that denomination of another called Tibris, before the coming of Æneas into Italy. The mountain Aventinus had name, as many write, from Aventinus king of the Albans, who was buried therein; but Virgil hath it otherwise. Julius, the brother of Aventinus, is named by Eusebius as father of another Julius, and grandfather of Julius Proculus; who leaving Alba, dwelt with Romulus in Rome. Numitor, the elder son of Procas, was deprived of the kingdom by his brother Amulius; by whom also his son Ægesthus was slain, and Ilia his daughter made a nun of Vesta, that thereby the issue of Numitor

might be cut off. But she conceived two sons, either by her uncle Amulius, as some think, or by Mars, as the poets feign, or perhaps by some man of war. Both the children their uncle commanded to be drowned, and the mother buried quick, according to the law; which so ordained, when the vestal virgins brake their chastity. Whether it was so, that the mother was pardoned at the entreaty of Antho the daughter of Amulius, or punished as the law required, (for authors herein do vary,) it is agreed by all, that the two children were preserved, who afterwards revenged the cruelty of their uncle with the slaughter of him and all his, and restored Numitor their grandfather to the kingdom: wherein how long he reigned I find not, neither is it greatly material to know, forasmuch as the estates of Alba and of Latium were presently eclipsed by the swift increase of Rome; upon which the computation of time following (as far as concerns the things of Italy) is dependant. After the death of Numitor the kingdom of Alba ceased, for Numitor left no male issue. Romulus chose rather to live in Rome, and of the line of Sylvius none else remained: so the Albans were governed by magistrates, of whom only two dictators are mentioned, namely Caius Cluilius, who in the days of Tullus Hostilius, king of the Romans, making war upon Rome, died in the camp; and Metius Suffetius, the successor of Cluilius, who surrendered the estate of Alba unto the Romans, having committed the hazard of both signiories to the success of three men of each side, who decided the quarrel by combat; in which the three brethren Horatii, the champions of the Romans, prevailed against the Curiatii, champions of the Albans. After this combat, when Metius (following Tullus Hostilius with the Alban forces against the Veientes and Fidenates) withdrew his companies out of the battle, hoping thereby to leave the Romans to such an overthrow as might make them weak enough for the Albans to deal with; Tullus, who notwithstanding this falsehood obtained the victory, did reward Metius with a cruel death, causing him to be tied to two chariots, and so torn in pieces. Then was Alba destroyed,

and the citizens carried to Rome, where they were made free denizens, the noble families being made patricians; among which were the Julii; of whom C. Julius Cæsar being descended, not only gloried in his ancient, royal, and forgotten pedigree, in full assembly of the Romans, then governed by a free estate of the people, but by his rare industry, valour, and judgment, obtained the sovereignty of the Roman empire (much by him enlarged) to himself and his posterity; whereby the name of Æneas, and honour of the Trojan and Alban race was so revived, that seldom, if ever, any one family hath attained to a proportionable height of glory.

SECT. V.

Of the beginning of Rome, and of Romulus's birth and death.

OF Rome, which devoured the Alban kingdom, I may here best shew the beginnings, which (though somewhat uncertain) depend much upon the birth and education of Romulus, the grandchild of Numitor, the last that reigned in Alba. For how not only the bordering people, but all nations between Euphrates and the ocean, were broken in pieces by the iron teeth of this fourth beast, it is not to be described in one place, having been the work of many ages; whereof I now do handle only the first, as incident unto the discourse preceding. Q. Fabius Pictor, Porcius Cato, Calphurnius Piso, Sempronius, and others, seek to derive the Romans from Janus; but Herodotus, Marsylus, and many others of equal credit, give the Grecians for their ancestors: and as [y] Strabo reporteth in his fifth book, *Cæcilius rerum Romanarum scriptor eo argumento colligit, Romam a Græcis esse conditam, quod Romani, Græco ritu, antiquo instituto Herculi rem sacram faciunt; matrem quoque Evandri venerantur Romani;* "Cæcilius," saith he, "a Roman histo-
"riographer, doth by this argument gather that Rome was
"built by the Greeks, because the Romans, after Greekish
"fashion, by ancient ordinance do sacrifice to Hercules; the
"Romans also worship the mother of Evander."

Plutarch, in the life of Romulus, remembers many fond

[y] Strabo, l. 5. fol. 159.

ers of that city; as, Romanus the son of Ulysses and Circe; Romus the son of Emathion, whom Diomedes sent thither from Troy, or that one Romus, a tyrant of the Latins, who drave the Tuscans out of that country, built it. Solinus bestows the honour of building Rome upon Evander, saying, that it was beforetimes called Valentia. Heraclides gives the denomination to a captive lady, brought thither by the Grecians; others say, that it was anciently called Febris, after the name of Februa, the mother of Mars; witness St. Augustine in his third book *de Civitate Dei*. But Livy will have it to be the work of Romulus, even from the foundation; of whom and his consorts, Juvenal to a Roman citizen, vaunting of their original, answered in these verses:

Attamen ut longe repetas, longeque revolvas,
Majorum quisquis primus fuit ille tuorum,
Aut pastor fuit, aut illud quod dicere nolo.

Yet though thou fetch thy pedigree so far,
Thy first progenitor, whoe'er he were,
Some shepherd was, or else, that I'll forbear:

meaning either a shepherd or a thief.

Now of Romulus's begetting, of his education and preservation, it is said that he had Rhea for his mother, and Mars was supposed to be his father; that he was nursed by a wolf, found and taken away by Faustula, a shepherd's wife. The same unnatural nursing had Cyrus; the same incredible fostering had Semiramis; the one by a bitch, the other by birds. But, as Plutarch saith, it is like enough that Amulius came covered with armour to Rhea, the mother of Romulus, when he begat her with child: and therein it seemeth to me, that he might have two purposes; the one, to destroy her, because she was the daughter and heir of his elder brother, from whom he injuriously held the kingdom; the other, to satisfy his appetite, because she was fair and goodly. For she being made a nun of the goddess Vesta, it was death in her, by the law, to break her chastity. I also find in [a] *Fauchet's Antiquitez de Gaule*, that Merovée king of the Francs was begotten by a monster of the sea;

[a] Fauchet, fol. 114.

but Fauchet says, "Let them believe it that list;" *Il le croira qui voudra:* also of Alexander, and of Scipio African, there are poetical inventions: but to answer these imaginations in general, it is true that in those times, when the world was full of this barbarous idolatry, and when there were as many gods as there were kings or passions of the mind, or as there were of vices and virtues; then did many women, greatly born, cover such slips as they made, by protesting to be forced by more than human power: so did Œnone confess to Paris that she had been ravished by Apollo; and Anchises boasted that he had known Venus. But Rhea was made with child by some man of war or other, and therefore called Mars, the god of battle, according to the sense of the time. Œnone was overcome by a strong wit, and by such a one as had those properties ascribed to Apollo. The mother of Merovée might fancy a sea captain to be gotten with young by such an one; as the daughter of Inachus fancied, according to Herodotus. Æneas was a bastard, and begotten upon some fair harlot, called for her beauty Venus, and was therefore the child of lust, which is Venus. Romulus was nursed by a wolf, which was Lupa, or Lupina, for the courtesans in those days were called wolves; *quæ nunc* (saith Halicarnassæus) *honestiori vocabulo amicæ appellantur;* "which are now by an honester name called "friends." It is also written, that Romulus was in the end of his life taken up into heaven, or rather out of the world by his father Mars, in a great storm of thunder and lightning: so was it said that Æneas vanished away by the river Numicus; but thereof Livy also speaketh modestly, for he rehearseth the other opinion, that the storm was the fury of the senators, but seemeth to adhere partially to this taking up; and many authors agree that there was an unnatural darkness, both at his birth and at his death; and that he might be slain by thunder and lightning it is not unlikely. For the emperor Anastasius was slain with lightning; so was Strabo, the father of Pompey, slain with a thunderbolt; so Carus the emperor, (who succeeded Probus,) whilst he lodged with his army upon the river Tigris, was there slain

with lightning. But a Mars of the same kind might end him that began him; for he was begotten by a man of war, and by violence destroyed. And that he died by violence, (which destiny followed most of the Roman emperors,) it appeareth by Tarquinius Superbus, who was but the seventh king after him; who when he had murdered his father-in-law, commanded that he should not be buried, for, said he, Romulus himself died, and was not buried. But let Halicarnassæus end this dispute, whose words are these: "They," saith he, "who draw nearest to the truth, say that he was "slain by his own citizens, and that his cruelty in punish-"ments of offenders, together with his arrogancy, were the "cause of his slaughter. For it is reported, that both when "his mother was ravished, whether by some man, or by a "god, the whole body of the sun was eclipsed, and all the "earth covered with darkness like unto night, and that the "same did happen at his death."

Such were the birth and death of Romulus, whose life, historified by Plutarch, doth contain (besides what is here already spoken of him) the conquest of a few miles, which had soon been forgotten, if the Roman greatness built upon that foundation had not given it memory in all ages following, even unto this day. A valiant man he was, very strong of body, patient of travel, and temperate in diet, as forbearing the use of wine and delicacies: but his raging ambition he knew not how to temper, which caused him to slay his brother, and neglect to revenge the death of Tatius his companion in the kingdom, that he himself might be lord alone in those narrow territories. He reigned seven and thirty years, first alone, then with Tatius, and after his death single, till he was slain, as is already shewed: after which time the sovereignty fell into the hands of Numa, a man to him unknown, and more priestlike than kinglike; wherein Rome itself in her later times hath somewhat resembled this king. For having long been sole governess, till Constantinople shared with her; afterwards, when as the Greek emperor was crushed by foreign enemies, and the Latins despoiled of imperial power, she fell into the sub-

jection of a prelate, swelling by degrees from the sheep-hook to the sword, and therewith victorious to excessive magnificence, from whence by the same degrees it fell, being driven from luxury to defensive arms, and therein having been unfortunate, at length betakes herself again to the crosier's staff.

And thus much of Rome in this place, by occasion of the story of the times of king Ahaz, during whose reign in Jewry the foundations of this famous city were laid.

CHAP. XXV.

Of Ezekias and his contemporaries.

SECT. I.

Of the beginning of Ezekias, and of the agreeing of Ptolomy's Nabonassar, Nabopolassar, and Mardocempadus, with the history of the Bible.

AS the first year of Ahaz's reign was confounded with the last of his father Jotham, so was the latter end of his sixteen years taken up in the three first of Ezekias his son. This appears by the reign of Hosea over Israel, which began in the twelfth of Ahaz, and therefore the third thereof was concurrent with Ahaz's fourteenth. But the third of Hosea was the first of Ezekias; so it follows, that Ezekias began to reign in his father's fourteenth year. Like enough it is, that the third year of Hosea, the same being the fourteenth of Ahaz, was almost spent when Ezekias began, and so the fifteenth year of Ahaz may have been concurrent, for the most part, with the first of Ezekias.

By supposing that Hosea began his kingdom when the twelfth year of Ahaz was almost complete, some would find the means how to disjoin the first of Ezekias from the fifteenth of Ahaz, placing him yet one year later, of which year Ahaz may perhaps have lived not many days. But seeing that the fourteenth and fifteenth years of Ezekias

may not be removed out of their places, it is vain labour to alter the first year.

[b] In the fourteenth of Ezekias, Sennacherib invading Juda and the countries adjoining, lost his army by a miraculous stroke from Heaven, fled home, and was slain. The year following it was, that God added fifteen years to the life of Ezekias, when he had already reigned fourteen of his nine and twenty; and the same year was that miracle seen of the sun's going back, of which wonder (as I hear) one Bartholomew Scultet, who is much commended for skill in astronomy, hath by calculation found the very day, which answered unto the twenty-fifth of April in the Julian year, being then Thursday. I have not seen any works of Scultet; but surely to find a motion so irregular and miraculous, it is necessary that he produce some record of observation made at such a time. Howsoever it be, the fifteenth year of Ezekias is agreed upon, and therefore we may not alter the first. As for that saying, which is usual in the like cases, that [c] *Ahaz slept with his fathers, and Ezekias his son reigned in his stead*, it doth no more prove that Ezekias reigned not with his father, than the like saying doth infer the like at the death of Jehoshaphat, and succession of Jehoram; whereof, as concerning the beginning of the son to reign whilst his father lived, we have already said enough.

Of this godly king Ezekias, we find that his very beginning testified his devotion and zeal. For whether it were so that his unfortunate and ungracious father (who had outworn his reputation) gave way to his son's proceedings, which perhaps it lay not in him to hinder; or whether (as I rather think) the first year and first month of his reign, wherein [d] Ezekias opened the doors of the temple, were to be understood as the beginning of his sole government; we plainly find it to have been his first work, that he opened the doors of the house of the Lord, which Ahaz had shut up, cleansed the city and kingdom of the idols, restored the

[b] 2 Kings xix. 35. [c] 2 Chron. xxviii. 27. [d] 2 Chron. xxix. 3.

[e] priests to their offices and estates, commanded the sacrifices to be offered which had been for many years neglected, and brake down the brasen [f] serpent of Moses, because the people burnt incense before it, and he called it Nehushtan, which signifieth a lump of brass. He did also celebrate the passover with great magnificence, inviting thereunto the Israelites of the ten tribes: many there were even out of those tribes that came up to Jerusalem to this feast. But the general multitude of Israel did laugh the messengers of Ezekias to scorn.

It was not long ere they that scorned to solemnize the memorial of their deliverance out of the Egyptian servitude fell into a new servitude, out of which they never were delivered. For in the fourth of Ezekias's reign, Salmanassar the son of Tiglath, the son of Belochus, hearing that Hosea king of Israel had practised with Soe king of Egypt against him, invaded Israel, besieged Samaria, and in the third year (after the inhabitants had endured all sorts of miseries) forced it, and carried thence the ten idolatrous tribes into Assyria and Media; among whom Tobias, and his son of the same name, with Anna his wife, were sent to Nineveh, in whose seats and places the Assyrians sent strangers of other nations, and among them many of the ancient enemies of the Israelites; as those of Cutha, Ana, Hamah, and Sphernaim, besides Babylonians; whose places and nations I have formerly described in the treatise of the Holy Land.

These latter Assyrian kings, and the Persians which followed them, are the first of whom we find mention made both in profane and sacred books. These therefore serve most aptly to join the times of the old world (whereof none but the prophets have written otherwise than fabulously) with the ages following that were better known and described in course of history. True it is, that of Cyrus and some other Persians, we find in the Bible the same names by which other authors have recorded them; but of Phul and Salmanassar, with other Assyrian, Chaldean kings, di-

[e] 2 Chron. xxx. [f] 2 Kings xviii.

versity of name hath bred question of the persons. Therefore, whereas the scriptures do speak of Salmanassar king of Assur, who reigned in the time of Ahaz and Ezekias kings of Juda, and of Hosea king of Israel, whom he carried into captivity; and whereas Ptolomy makes mention of Nabonassar, speaking precisely of the time wherein he lived; it is very pertinent to shew, that Salmanassar and Nabonassar were one and the same man. The like reason also requireth, that it be shewed of Nebuchadnezzar, that he was the same whom Ptolomy calleth Nabopolassar.

Of both these points, Bucholerus hath well collected sufficient proof from the exact calculations of sundry good mathematicians. For by them it appears, that between Nabonassar and the birth of Christ, there passed 746 years; at which distance of time the reign of Salmanassar was. One great proof hereof is this, which the same Bucholerus allegeth out of Erasmus Reinholdus, in the Prutenick tables. Mardocempadus king of Babylon (whom Ptolomy, speaking of three eclipses of the moon which were in his time, doth mention) was the same whom the scriptures call Merodach, who sent ambassadors to Ezekias king of Juda. So that if we reckon backwards to the difference of time between Merodach and Salmanassar, we shall find it the same which is between Mardocempadus and Nabonassar. Likewise Functius doth shew, that whereas from the destruction of Samaria to the devastation of Jerusalem, in the nineteenth of Nebuchadnezzar, we collect out of the scriptures the distance of one hundred and thirty-three years; the selfsame distance of time is found in Ptolomy, between Nabonassar and Nabopolassar. For whereas Ptolomy seems to differ from this account, making Nabonassar more ancient by an hundred and forty years than the destruction of Jerusalem, we are to understand that he took Samaria in the eighth year of his reign; so that the seven foregoing years added to these one hundred thirty-three, make the accounts of the scriptures fall even with that of Ptolomy. Ptolomy's computation is, that from the first of Nabonassar to the fifth of Nabopolassar, there passed one hundred twenty-seven

years. Now if we add to these one hundred twenty-seven the thirteen ensuing of Nebuchadnezzar's years, before the city and temple were destroyed, we have the sum of one hundred and forty years. In so plain a case more proofs are needless, though many are brought, of which this may serve for all, that Ptolomy placeth the first of Nabopolassar one hundred twenty-two years after the first of Nabonassar, which agreeth exactly with the scriptures. To these notes are added the consent of all mathematicians, which in account of times I hold more sure than the authority of any history; and therefore I think it folly to make doubt, whereas historians and mathematical observations do so throughly concur.

Yet forasmuch as that argument of the learned Scaliger doth rest unanswered, whereby he proved Baladan the father of Merodach to have been this Nabonassar, I will not spare to lose a word or two in giving the reader satisfaction herein. It is true, that the next observations of the heavenly bodies, which Ptolomy recorded, after the time of Nabonassar, were in the reign of Mardocempadus; the second year of whose reign is, according to [s] Ptolomy, concurrent in part with the twenty-seventh of Nabonassar. For the second of three ancient eclipses which he calculates, being in the second year of Mardocempadus, was from the beginning of Nabonassar twenty-seven years, seventeen days, and eleven hours; the account from Nabonassar, beginning at high noon the first day of the Egyptian month Thot, then answering to the twenty-sixth of February; and this eclipse being fifty minutes before midnight, on the eighteenth day of that month, when the first day thereof agreed with the nineteenth of February; so that the difference of time between the two kings Nabonassar and Mardocempadus is noted by Ptolomy according to the Egyptian years. But how does this prove that Mardocempadus, or Merodach, was the son of Nabonassar? yea, how doth it prove that he was his next successor, or any way of his lineage? It was enough to satisfy me in this argument,

[s] Ptol. Almag. l. 4. c. 8.

that Scaliger himself did afterwards believe Mardocempadus to have been rather the nephew than the son of Baladan or Nabonassar. For if he might be either the nephew or the son, he might perhaps be neither the one nor the other. But because our countryman Lidyate hath reprehended Scaliger for changing his opinion; and that both Torniellus, who follows Scaliger herein, and Sethus Calvisius, who hath drawn into form of chronology that learned work *De Emendatione Temporum*, do hold up the same assertion, confounding Baladan with Nabonassar; I have taken the pains to search, as far as my leisure and diligence could reach, after any sentence that might prove the kindred or succession of these two. Yet cannot I find in the Almagest (for the scriptures are either silent in this point, or adverse to Scaliger; and other good authority, I know none, in this business) any sentence more nearly proving the succession of Merodach to Nabonassar, than the place now last rehearsed; which makes no more, to shew that the one of these was father to the other, than (that I may use a like example) the as near succession of William the Conqueror declares him to have been son or grandchild to Edward the Confessor. This considered, we may safely go on with our account from Nabonassar, taking him for Salmanassar; and not fearing that the readers will be driven from our book, when they find something in it agreeing with Annius, forasmuch as these kings mentioned in scriptures reigned in Babylon and Assyria, in those very times which by Diodorus and Ptolomy are assigned to Belosus, Nabonassar, and Mardocempadus, and the rest; no good history naming any others that reignedthere in those ages, and all astronomical observations, fitly concurring with the years that are attributed to these, or numbered from them.

SECT. II.

Of the danger and deliverance of Judæa from Sennacherib.

WHEN Salmanassar was dead, and his son Sennacherib in possession of the empire, in the fourteenth year of Ezekias, he demanded of him such tribute as was agreed on at

such time as Tiglath, the grandfather of Sennacherib and father of Salmanassar, invited by Ahaz, invaded Rezen king of Damascus, and delivered him from the dangerous war which Israel had undertaken against him. This tribute and acknowledgment when Ezekias denied, Sennacherib, having (as it seems) a purpose to invade Egypt, sent one part of his army to lie before Jerusalem. Now though Ezekias (fearing this powerful prince) had acknowledged his fault, and purchased his peace, as he hoped, with thirty hundred talents of silver and thirty talents of gold, wherewith he presented Sennacherib, now set down before Lachis in Judæa; yet under the colour of better assurance, and to force the [h] king of Judæa to deliver hostages, the Assyrian environed Jerusalem with a gross army, and having his sword in his hand, thought it the fittest time to write his own conditions.

Ezekias directed his three greatest counsellors to parley with Rabsaces over the wall, and to receive his demands; who used three principal arguments to persuade the people to yield themselves to his master Sennacherib. For though the chancellor, steward, and secretary, sent by Ezekias, desired Rabsaces to speak unto them in the Syrian tongue, and not in the Jewish, yet he with a more loud voice directed his speech to the multitude in their own language. And for the first he made them know, That if they continued obstinate, and adhered to their king, that they would, in a short time, be enforced to eat their own dung and drink their own urine; secondly, he altogether disabled the king of Egypt, from whom the Judæans hoped for succour, and compared him to a [i] broken staff, on which whosoever leaneth pierceth his own hand; thirdly, that the gods who should help them, Ezekias had formerly broken and defaced, meaning chiefly (as it is thought by some) the brasen serpent, which had been preserved ever since Moses's time: and withal he bade them remember the gods of other nations; whom, notwithstanding any power of theirs, his master had conquered and thrown down; and

[h] 2 Kings xviii. 21. [i] Ibid.

for God himself, in whom they trusted, he persuaded them by no means to rely on him, for he would deceive them. But finding the people silent (for so the king had commanded them) after a while, when he had understood that the king of Arabia was marching on with a powerful army, he himself left the Assyrian forces in charge to others, and sought Sennacherib at Lebnah in Judæa, either to inform him of their resolution in Jerusalem, or to confer with him concerning the army of Terhaca the Arabian. Soon upon this there came letters from Sennacherib to Ezekias, whom he partly advised, and partly threatened to submit himself; using the same blasphemous outrage against the all-powerful God as before. But Ezekias, sending those counsellors to the prophet Isaiah, which had lately been sent to Rabsaces, received from him comfort and assurance, that this heathen idolater should not prevail; against whom the king also besought aid from Almighty God, repeating the most insolent and blasphemous parts of Sennacherib's letter, before the altar of God in the temple, confessing this part thereof to be true, [k] *That the king of Ashur had destroyed the nations and their lands, and had set fire on their gods, for they were no gods, but the work of men's hands, even wood and stone*, &c.

The reason that moved Sennacherib to desire to possess himself in haste of Jerusalem, was, that he might thereinto have retreated his army, which was departed, as it seemeth, from the siege of Pelusium in Egypt, for fear of Terhaca: and though the scriptures are silent of that enterprise, (which in these books of the Kings and of the Chronicles speak but of the affairs of Jews in effect,) yet the ancient Berosus, and out of him Josephus and St. Jerome, together with Herodotus, remember it as followeth: [l] Herodotus calleth Sennacherib king of Arabia and Assyria; which he might justly do, because Tiglath his grandfather held a great part thereof, which he wrested from Pekah king of Israel; as Gilead over Jordan, and the rest of Arabia Petræa adjoining: the same Herodotus also maketh Sethon

[k] 2 Kings xix.

[l] Herod. l. 2. p. 69.

king of Egypt to be Vulcan's priest, and reporteth that the reason of Sennacherib's return from Pelusium in Egypt, which he also besieged, was, that an innumerable multitude of rats had in one night eaten in sunder the bowstrings of his archers, and spoiled the rest of their weapons of that kind; which no doubt might greatly amaze him: but the approach of Terhaca, remembered by [m] Josephus and Berosus, was the more urgent. St. Jerome upon Isaiah xxxvii. out of the same Berosus, as also in part out of [n] Herodotus, whom Josephus citeth somewhat otherwise than his words lie, reports Sennacherib's retreat in these words: *Pugnasse autem Sennacherib regem Assyriorum contra Ægyptios, et obsedisse Pelusium, jamque extructis aggeribus, urbi capiendæ, venisse Taracham regem Æthiopum in auxilium, et una nocte juxta Jerusalem centum octoginta quinque millia exercitus Assyrii pestilentia corruisse narrat Herodotus: et plenissime Berosus Chaldaicæ scriptor historiæ, quorum fides de propriis libris petenda est;* "That Senna-" cherib king of the Assyrians fought against the Egyptians, " and besieged Pelusium, and that when his mounts were " built for taking of the city, Tarhacas king of the Ethiopians " came to help them, and that in one night near Jerusalem " one hundred and eighty-five thousand of the Assyrian army " perished by pestilence. Of these things (saith Jerome) " [o] Herodotus reports; and more at large Berosus, a writer " of Chaldean story, whose credit is to be taken from their " own books." Out of Isaiah it is gathered, that this destruction of the Assyrian army was in this manner: [p] *Thou shalt be visited of the Lord of hosts with thunder and shaking, and a great noise, a whirlwind and a tempest, and a flame of devouring fire.* But [q] Josephus hath it more largely out of the same Berosus, an authority (because so well agreeing with the scriptures) not to be omitted: *Sennacheribus autem ab Ægyptiaco bello revertens, ostendit ibi exercitum,*

[m] Joseph. Ant. l. 10. c. 1.
[n] Herod. Euterp. l. 2.
[o] To wit in part; for Herodotus mentioneth nothing, neither of Tarhaca nor of Jerusalem, nor of the army there.
[p] Isa. xxix. 6.
[q] Joseph. Ant. l. 10. c. 1.

quem sub Rabsacis imperio reliquerat, peste divinitus immissa deletum, prima nocte posteaquam urbem oppugnare cœperat, absumptis cum ducibus et tribunis centum octoginta quinque millibus militum, qua clade territus, et de reliquis copiis sollicitus, maximis itineribus in regnum suum contendit ad regiam quæ Ninus dicitur. Ubi paulo post per insidias seniorum e filiis suis, Adramelechi et [r] *Selennari, vitam amisit: occisus in ipso templo quod dicitur Arasci; quem præcipuo cultu dignabatur: quibus ob patricidium a popularibus pulsis et in Armeniam fugientibus, Asaracoldas minor filius in regnum successit;* " Sennacherib," saith Josephus, " returning from the Egyptian war, found there his " army, which he had left under the command of Rabsaces, " destroyed by a pestilence sent from God the first night that " he had begun to assault the town; one hundred four- " score and five thousand of the soldiers being consumed " with their chieftains and colonels. With which destruction " being terrified, and withal afraid what might become of the " rest of his army, he made great marches into his kingdom " to his royal city, which is called Ninus; where shortly after, " by the treason of two of the eldest of his sons, Adramelech " and Selennar, or Sharezer, he lost his life in the temple " dedicated to Arasces, or Nesroch; whom he especially wor- " shipped. These his sons being for their parricide chased " away by the people, and flying into [s] Armenia, Asara- " coldas his younger son succeeded in the kingdom;" who in the beginning of his reign sent new troops out of Assyria and Samaria, to fortify the colony therein planted by his grandfather Salmanassar. What this Nesroch was, it is uncertain; Jerome in his Hebrew traditions hath somewhat of him, but nothing positively. It is certain, that Venus Urania was worshipped by the Assyrians; and so was Jupiter Belus, as Dion, Eusebius, and Cyrillus witness. Many fancies there are, what cause his sons had to murder him; but the most likely is, that he had formerly disinherited

[r] Selennar, otherwise Sharezer, who slew him as he was praying to Nisroe his god, 2 Kings xix.

[s] 2 Kings xix. 37.

those two, and conferred the empire on Assarhaddon. Tobit tells us, that it was fifty-five days after Sennacherib's return, ere he was murdered by his sons; during which time he slew great numbers of the Israelites in Nineveh, till the most just God turned the sword against his own breast.

SECT. III.

Of Ezekias's sickness and recovery; and of the Babylonian king that congratulated him.

AFTER this marvellous delivery, Ezekias sickened, and was told by Isaiah, that he must die; but after he had besought God with tears for his delivery, Isaiah, as he was going from him, returned again, and had warrant from the Spirit of God to promise him recovery after three days, and a prolongation of his life for fifteen years. But Ezekias, somewhat doubtful of this exceeding grace, prayeth a [t] sign to confirm him; whereupon, at the prayer of Isaiah, the shadow of the sun cast itself the contrary way, and went back ten degrees upon the dial of Ahaz. The cause that moved Ezekias to lament (saith St. Jerome) was, because he had as yet no son, and then in despair that the Messias should come out of the house of David, or at least of his seed. His disease seemeth to be the pestilence, by the medicine given him by the prophet, to wit, a mass of figs, laid to the botch or sore.

This wonder when the wise men of Chaldæa had told to Merodach king of Babylon, the first of that house, he sent to Ezekias, to be informed of the cause: at which time Ezekias shewed him all the treasure he had, both in the court and in the kingdom; for which he was reprehended by the prophet Isaiah, who told him; [u] *The days are at hand, that all that is in thine house, and whatsoever thy fathers have laid up in store to this day, shall be carried into Babel: nothing shall be left, saith the Lord.* It may seem strange, how Ezekias should have got any treasure worth the shewing; for Sennacherib had robbed him of all

[t] 2 Kings xx. [u] Isai. xxxix.

the year before. But the spoil of the same Sennacherib's camp repaid all with advantage, and made Ezekias richer upon the sudden than ever he had been; which unexpected wealth was a strong temptation to boasting. After this time Ezekias had rest, and spending without noise that addition which God had made unto his life, he died, having reigned nine and twenty years. One only offensive war he made, which was against the Philistines with good success. Among his other acts, (shortly remembered in Ecclesiasticus xlviii.) he devised to bring water to Jerusalem.

In two respects they say that he offended God; the one, that he rejoiced too much at the destruction and lamentable end of his enemy; the other, that he so much gloried in his riches, as he could not forbear to shew them to strangers. But the reason which moved Ezekias (speaking humanly) to entertain the ambassadors of Merodach in this friendly and familiar manner, was, because he came to visit him, and brought him a present, congratulating the recovery of his health; as also in that Merodach had weakened the house of Sennacherib his fearful enemy. For Merodach, who was commander and lieutenant under Sennacherib in Babylon, usurped that state himself in the last year of that king, and held it by strong hand against his son Assarhaddon; who was not only simple, but impaired in strength by the molestation of his brothers. This advantage Merodach espied, and remembering that their ancestor Phul Belochus had set his own master Sardanapalus besides the cushion, thought it as lawful for himself to take the opportunity which this king's weakness did offer, as it had been for Belochus to make use of the other's wickedness; and so, finding himself beloved of the Babylonians, and sufficiently powerful, he did put the matter to hazard, and prevailed. The assertion of this history is made by the same arguments that were used in maintaining the common opinion of writers, touching Phul Belochus; which I will not here again rehearse. So of this new race, which cut asunder the line of Ninus, there were only five kings:

Phul Belochus	who reigned	48 years.
Tiglath Philassar		27
Salmanassar		10
Sennacherib		7
Assarhaddon		10

But forasmuch as the last year of Salmanassar was also the first of Sennacherib his son, we reckon the time, wherein the house of Phul held the Assyrian kingdom, to have been an hundred and one years; of which, the last five and twenty were spent with Ezekias, under Salmanassar, Sennacherib, and Assarhaddon.

SECT. IV.

The kings that were in Media during the reign of Ezekias: of the difference found between sundry authors, in rehearsing the Median kings. Other contemporaries of Ezekias: of Candaules, Gyges, and the kings descended from Hercules.

IN the time of Ezekias, Medidus, and after him Cardiceas, reigned in Media. Whether it were so, that variety of names, by which these kings were called in several histories, hath caused them to seem more than indeed they were; or whether the sons reigning with the fathers have caused not only the names of kings, but the length of time, wherein they governed Media, to exceed the due proportion; or whether the copies themselves, of Ctesias and Annius's Metasthenes, have been faulty, as neither of these two authors is over-highly commended of trustiness; so it is, that the names, number, and length of reign, are all very diversely reported of these Median kings that followed Arbaces; therefore it need not seem strange, that I reckon Medidus and Cardiceas as contemporaries with Ezekias. For to reconcile so great a difference as is found in those writers that vary from Eusebius, is more than I dare undertake. I will only here set down the roll of kings that reigned in Media, accordingly as sundry authors have delivered it.

Annius's Metasthenes orders them and their reigns thus:

Arbaces	who reigned	28 years.
Mandanes	. . . . .	50
Sosarmon	. . . . .	30
Articarmin	. . . . .	50
Arbianes	. . . . .	22
Artæus	. . . . .	40
Attines	. . . . .	22
Astybarus, with his son Apanda	. . . .	20
Apanda alone	. . . . .	30
Darius, with Cyrus	. . .	36

Diodorus Siculus following Ctesias (as perhaps Annius made his Metasthenes follow Diodore, with some little variation, that he might not seem a borrower) placeth them thus:

Arbaces	who reigned	28 years.
Mandanes	. . . . .	50
Sosarmus	. . . . .	30
Artycas	. . . . .	50
Arbianes	. . . . .	22
Arfæus	. . . . .	40
Artynes	. . . . .	22
Artabanus	. . . . .	40
Astyabara, Astyages	The continuance of these two he doth not mention.	

Mercator hath laboured with much diligence to reconcile these catalogues, and to make them also agree with Eusebius. But forasmuch as it seems to me an impossible matter to attain unto the truth of these forgotten times, by conjectures founded upon Ctesias and Metasthenes, I will lay the burden upon Eusebius, who lived in an age better furnished than ours with books of this argument. Let it therefore suffice, that these two kings, (whom I have reckoned as contemporaries with Ezekias,) Medidus and Cardiceas, are found in Eusebius; for whether Cardiceas were Diodorus's Arbianes, I will not stay to search. The kings of Media, according to Eusebius, reigned in this order:

Arbaces	who reigned	28 years.
Sosarmus		30
Medidus		40
Cardiceas		15
Deioces		54
Phraortes		24
Cyaxares		32
Astyages		38

These names, and this course of succession, I retain; but add unto these Cyaxares, the son of Astyages, according to Xenophon; and sometimes follow Herodotus, in setting down the length of a king's reign otherwise than Eusebius hath it: of which variations I will render my reasons in due place.

The twenty-nine years of Ezekias were concurrent, in part, with the rule of the four first that were chosen governors of Athens for ten years; that is, of Charops, Æsimedes, Elidicus, and Hippones. Touching the first of these I hear nothing, save that Rome was built in his first year; of which perhaps himself did not hear. Of the second and third I find only the names. The fourth made himself known by a strange example of justice, or rather of cruelty, that he shewed upon his own daughter. For he, finding that she had offended in unchastity, caused her to be locked up with an horse, giving to neither of them any food; so the horse, constrained by hunger, devoured the unhappy woman.

In Rome, the first king and founder of that city, Romulus, did reign both before and somewhat after Ezekias.

In Lydia, Candaules, the last king, ruled in the same age.

This region was first called Mæonia. Lydus the son of Atys reigning in it, gave the name of Lydia, if we believe such authority as we find. This kingdom was afterwards, by the appointment of an oracle, conferred upon Argon, who came of Alcæus the son of Hercules, by Jardana, a bondwoman. The race of these Heraclidæ continued reigning fifty-five years, (in which two and twenty generations

passed,) the son continually succeeding the father. Candaules the son of Myrsus was the last of this race, who doated so much upon the beauty of his own wife, that he could not be content to enjoy her, but would needs enforce one Gyges, the son of Dascylus, to behold her naked body, and placed the unwilling man secretly in her chamber, where he might see her preparing to bedward. This was not so closely carried, but that the queen perceived Gyges at his going forth, and understanding the matter, took it in such high disdain, that she forced him the next day to requite the king's folly with treason. So Gyges, being brought again into the same chamber by the queen, slew Candaules, and was rewarded, not only with his wife, but with the kingdom of Lydia. He reigned thirty-eight years, beginning in the last of Ezekias, one year before the death of Romulus.

After Gyges, his son Ardys reigned nine and forty years; then Sadyattes, twelve; Halyattes, fifty-seven; and finally Crœsus the son of Halyattes, fourteen years; who lost the kingdom, and was taken by Cyrus of Persia.

And here by the way we may note, that as the Lydian kings, whom Crœsus's progenitor dispossessed, are deduced from Hercules, so of the same Hercules there sprang many other kings, which governed several countries very long; as in Asia, the Mysians; in Greece, the Lacedæmonians, Messenians, Rhodians, Corinthians, and Argives; and from the Argives, the Macedonians; as likewise from the Corinthians, the Syracusans; besides many great and famous though private families.

But of the Heraclidæ that reigned in Lydia, I have not troubled myself to take notice in the time of their several reigns; for little is found of them besides the bare names, and the folly of this last king Candaules.

CHAP. XXVI.

Of the kings that reigned in Egypt, between the deliverance of Israel from thence and the reign of Ezekias in Juda, when Egypt and Juda made a league against the Assyrians.

SECT. I.

That many names of Egyptian kings, found in history, are like to have belonged only to viceroys. An example proving this out of William of Tyre's History of the Holy War.

THE emulation and quarrels arising in these times, between the mighty kingdoms of Egypt and Assyria, do require our pains in collecting the most memorable things in Egypt, and setting down briefly the state of that country, which had continued long a flourishing region, and was of great power when it contended with Assyria for the mastery. Of Cham the son of Noah, who first planted that country, and of Osiris, Orus, and other ancient kings that reigned there until the Israelites were thence delivered, more hath been said already than I can stand to; though I hold it no shame to fail in such conjectures. That which I have delivered, in speaking mine opinion of the Egyptian dynasties, must here again help me. For it may truly be affirmed, that the great number of kings, which are said to have reigned in Egypt, were none other than viceroys or stewards, such as Joseph was, and such as were the soldans in later ages. Therefore I will not only forbear to seek after those whom Herodotus and Diodorus have reckoned up from the mouths of Egyptian priests, delivering them by number without rehearsing their names, but will save the labour of marshalling them in order, whose names only are found; the years of their reigns, and other circumstances, proving them to have been kings indeed, being not recorded.

But that I may not seem beforehand to lay an imaginary ground whereupon after I may build what I list, it were not amiss to give unto the reader such satisfaction in this point, as apparent reason and truth of history doth afford. First, therefore, we ought not to believe those numbers of

generations, which the lying priests have reckoned up, to magnify their antiquities: for we know, that from Abraham our Saviour Christ was removed only forty-two descents, which makes it evident, that in far shorter time, namely before the Persian empire, there could not have passed away twice as many successions in Egypt; especially considering, that many of these, whose continuance is expressed, have reigned longer than forty years. It follows that we should square the number of the Egyptian kings in some even proportion to those which did bear rule in other countries. As for the rest, whose names we find scattered here and there, any man that will take the pains to read the nineteenth book of the Holy War, written by William archbishop of Tyre, may easily persuade himself, that it is not hard to find names enough of such as might be thought to have reigned in Egypt, being none other than regents or viceroys. Yet will I here insert, as briefly as I can, some things making to that purpose, for the pleasure and information of such as will not trouble themselves with turning over many authors.

When Elhadech the caliph ruled in Egypt, one Dargan, a powerful and a subtle man, made himself soldan, by force and cunning, chasing away Sanar, an Arabian, who was soldan before and after him. This Dargan ministered matter of quarrel to Almarick king of Jerusalem; and sustained, with little loss, an invasion which Almarick made upon Egypt: hereupon he grew so insolent and proud, that Sanar the former soldan hoped to make his party good against him, if he could get any forces wherewith to enter Egypt. Briefly, Sanar sueth to Noradine king of Damasco for aid, who sends an army of his Turks, under the command of Syracon, against the soldan Dargan. So Dargan and Sanar met, and fought: the victory was Dargan's; but he enjoyed it not; for in few days after, he was slain by treason, whereby Sanar did recover his dignity; which to establish, he slew all the kindred and friends of Dargan that he could find in the great city of Cairo.

To all these doings the caliph Elhadech gave little regard;

for he thought it little concerned him which of them lived, and had the administration of the kingdom, whilst he might have the profit of it, and enjoy his pleasure. But new troubles presently arise, which (one would think) do nearly touch the caliph himself. Syracon with his Turks, whom Sanar hath gotten to come into Egypt, will not now be entreated there to leave him, and quietly go their way home. They seize upon the town of Belbeis, which they fortify, and there attend the arrival of more company from Damasco, for the conquest of all Egypt. The soldan perceives their intent, and finds himself not strong enough to expel them, much less to repel the Turkish army that was likely to second them: he therefore sends messengers to king Almarick, of Jerusalem, whom with large promises he gets to bring him aid, and so drives out the Turks. Of all this trouble the great caliph hears nothing, or not so much as should make him look to the playing of his own game.

A greater mischief ariseth, concerning the caliph Elhadech particularly, in his own title. Syracon, captain of the Turks that had been in Egypt, goes to the caliph of Baldach, (who was opposite to him of Egypt, each of them claiming as heir to Mahomet, that false prophet, the sovereignty over all that were of the Saracen law,) and tells him the weakness of the Egyptian, with his own ability of doing service in those parts, offering his best means for the extirpation of the schismatical caliph, and the reduction of all Egypt, with the western parts under the subjection of the Babylonian. This motion is readily and joyfully entertained; all the eastern provinces are up in arms, and Syracon with a mighty power descendeth into Egypt. The noise of this great expedition so affrighteth king Almarick that with all his forces he hasteth into Egypt, well knowing how nearly it concerned him and his kingdom of Jerusalem, to keep the Saracens from joining all under one head. Sanar the soldan, perceiving the faithful care of the Christians his friends, welcomes them, and bestirs himself in giving them all manner of content, as it behoved him; for by their admirable valour he finally drave the enemies out of the

country. But this victory was not so soon gotten as it is quickly told.

Strange it is, (which most concerns our present purpose,) that of so desperate a danger the caliph as yet seems to know nothing. May we not think him to have been king in title only, who meddled so little in the government? The soldan, finding that the Christians (without whose help all was lost) could not well stay so long as his necessities required, makes large offers to king Almarick upon condition that he should abide by it. He promiseth a great tribute, (William of Tyre calls it a tribute; the Saracens, perhaps, called it a pension,) which the kings of Jerusalem should receive out of Egypt for this behoveful assistance. But the Christians, understanding that the soldan (how much soever he took upon him) was subject to an higher lord, would make no bargain of such importance with any other than the caliph himself: hereupon Hugh, earl of Cæsarea, and a knight of the Templars, are sent unto Elhadech to ratify the covenants. Now shall we see the greatness of the caliph and his estate.

These ambassadors were conveyed by the soldan to Cairo, where arriving at the palace, they found it guarded by great troops of soldiers. The first entrance was through dark porches, that were kept by many armed bands of Ethiopians, which, with all diligence, did reverence unto the soldan as he passed along. Through these straits the warders led them into goodly open courts, of such beauty and riches, that they could not retain the gravity of ambassadors, but were enforced to admire the things which detained their eyes: for there they saw goodly marble pillars, gilded beams, all wrought over with embossed works, curious pavements, fish-ponds of marble with clear waters, and many sorts of strange birds, unknown in these parts of the world, as coming perhaps from the East Indies, which then were undiscovered. The further they went, the greater was the magnificence; for the caliph's eunuchs conveyed them into other courts within these, as far excelling the former, as the former did surpass ordinary houses. It were

tedious perhaps to rehearse how, the further they entered, the more high state they found, and cause of marvel; suffice it, that the good archbishop, who wrote these things, was never held a vain author. Finally, they were brought into the caliph's own lodgings, which were yet more stately and better guarded, where, entering the presence, the soldan, having twice prostrated himself, did the third time cast off his sword that he ware about his neck, and throw himself on the ground before the curtain, behind which the caliph sat. Presently the traverse, wrought with gold and pearls, was opened, and the caliph himself discovered, sitting with great majesty on a throne of gold, having very few of his most inward servants and eunuchs about him. When the soldan had humbly kissed his master's feet, he briefly told the cause of his coming, the danger wherein the land stood, and the offers that he had made unto king Almarick desiring the caliph himself to ratify them in presence of the ambassadors. The caliph answered, that he would throughly perform all which was promised. But this contented not the ambassadors; they would have him to give his hand upon the bargain, which the Egyptians that stood by thought an impudent request. Yet his greatness condescended at length, after much deliberation, at the earnest request of the soldan to reach out his hand. When the earl of Cæsarea saw that the caliph gave his hand neither willingly nor bare, he told him roundly thus much in effect: Sir, truth seeks no holes to hide itself; princes that will hold covenant must deal openly, nakedly, and sincerely; give us therefore your bare hand, if you mean that we shall trust you, for we will make no bargains with your glove. Much ado there was about this; for it seemed against the majesty of such a prince to yield so far. But, when it would none otherwise be, with a smiling cheer (though to the great grief of his servants) he vouchsafed to let the earl take him by the bare hand; and so rehearsing the covenants, word by word, as the earl spake them, he ratified all, dismissing finally the ambassadors with such rewards as testified his greatness.

In this caliph and his soldan we may discern the image of the ancient Pharaoh and his viceroy; we see a prince of great estate sitting in his palace, and not vexing himself with the great preparations made against him, which terrify his neighbour countries: we see his viceroy, in the mean season, using all royal power, making war and peace, entertaining and expelling armies of strangers; yea, making the land of Egypt tributary to a foreign prince. What greater authority was given to Joseph, when Pharaoh said unto him, *Thou shalt be over mine house, and at thy word shall all my people be armed, only in the king's throne will I be above thee: behold, I have set thee over all the land of Egypt?*

I do not commend this form of government; neither can I approve the conjecture of mine author, where he thinks that the Egyptians, ever since Joseph's time, have felt the burden of that servitude which he brought upon them, when he bought them and their lands for Pharaoh. Herein I find his judgment good, that he affirms this manner of the Egyptian kings, in taking their ease and ruling by a viceroy, to be part of the ancient customs practised by the Pharaohs: for we find, that even the Ptolomies (excepting Ptolomæus Lagi, and his son Philadelphus, founder and establisher of that race) were given, all of them, wholly to please their own appetites, leaving the charge of the kingdom to women, eunuchs, and other ministers of their desires. The pleasures, which that country afforded, were indeed sufficient to invite the kings thereof unto a voluptuous life; and the awful regard wherein the Egyptians held their princes gave them security, whereby they might the better trust their officers with so ample commission. But of this matter I will not stand longer to dispute. It is enough to have shewed, that the great and almost absolute power of the viceroy's governing Egypt is set down by Moses, and that a lively example of the same is found in William of Tyre, who lived in the same age, was in few years after chancellor of the kingdom of Jerusalem, and had full discourse with Hugh earl of Cæsarea touching all these matters. Wherefore it remains, that we be not carried away

with a vain opinion, to believe that all they were kings, whom reports of the fabulous Egyptians have honoured with that style, but rest contented with a catalogue of such as we find by circumstance likely to have reigned in that country; after whom it follows that we should make inquiry.

SECT. II.

Of Acherres, whether he were Uchoreus that was the eighth from Osymandyas. Of Osymandyas and his tomb.

IN this business I hold it vain to be too curious: for who can hope to attain to the perfect knowledge of the truth, when as Diodorus varies from Herodotus, Eusebius from both of them; and late writers, that have sought to gather the truth out of these and others, find no one with whom they can agree. In this case Annius would do good service, if a man could trust him: but it is enough to be beholden to him, when others do either say nothing, or that which may justly be suspected. I will therefore hold myself contented with the pleasure that he hath done me, in saying somewhat of Osiris, Isis, Orus, and those antiquaries removed so far out of sight: as for the kings following the departure of Israel out of Egypt, it shall suffice, that Herodotus, Diodorus, and Eusebius have not been silent, and that Reineccius hath taken pains to range into some good order the names that are extant in these, or found scattering in others.

From the departure of Israel out of Egypt unto the reign of Thuoris, (who is generally taken to be the same that the Greeks call Proteus,) there is little or no disagreement about the Egyptian kings. Wherefore I set down the same which are found in Eusebius, and give to every one the same length of reign.

Acherres was the first of these who succeeded unto Chenchres, that perished in the Red sea. This king seems to Reineccius to be the same whom Diodorus calls Uchoreus, the founder of Memphis. But whereas mention is found in Diodorus of a great king named Osymandyas, from whom Uchoreus is said to be the eighth; it will either hardly fol-

low, that Timaus (as Reineccius conjectures) was the great Osymandyas, or else that this Acherres was Uchoreus; for the distance between them was more than eight generations. Mercator judgeth Osymandyas to have been the husband of Acencheres, Orus the second's daughter, thinking that Manethon (cited by Josephus) doth omit his name, and insert his wife's into the catalogue of kings, because he was king in his wife's right. As for Uchoreus, it troubles not Mercator to find him the eighth from this man; for he takes *Ogdous* not to signify in this place of Diodore (as that Greek word else doth) the eighth, but to be an Egyptian name belonging also to Uchoreus, who might have had two names, as many of the rest had. I will not vex my brains in the unprofitable search of this and the like inextricable doubts. All that Diodore hath found of this Osymandyas was wrought upon his monument, the most thereof in figures, which I think the Egyptians did fabulously expound: for whereas there was pourtrayed a great army, with the siege of a town, the captivity of the people, and the triumph of the conqueror; all this the Egyptians said to denote the conquest of Bactria made by that king, which how likely it was, let others judge. I hold this goodly piece of work, which Diodore so particularly describes, to have been erected for a common place of burial to the ancient kings and queens of Egypt, and to their viceroys; whilst yet they were not so ambitious as every one to have his own particular monument, striving therein to exceed all others. This appears by the many statues therein placed by the wars, the judgment-seat, the receiving of tribute, the offering sacrifice to God, the account of revenues, and plenty of all cattle and food; all which were there curiously wrought, shewing the several offices of a governor. On the tomb of Osymandyas was this inscription: "I am Osymandyas, king "of kings; if any desire to know what I am, or where I lie, "let him exceed some of my works." Let them, that hope to exceed his works, labour to know what he was. But since by those words, "or where I lie," it should seem that he lay not there interred; we may lawfully suspect that it

was Joseph whose body was preserved among the Hebrews, to be buried in the land of Canaan, and this empty monument might king Orus, who outlived him, erect in honour of his high deserts, among the royal sepulchres. To which purpose the plenty of cattle, and all manner of viands, had good reference. The name Osymandyas doth not hinder this conjecture, seeing Joseph had one new name given to him by Pharaoh for expounding the dream, and might, upon further occasions, have another to his increase of honour. As for that style, "king of kings," it was perhaps no more than *beglerbeg*, as the Turkish bassas are called, that is, "great above the great."

Now although it be so, that the reckoning falls out right between the times of Joseph and Acherres, (for Acherres was the eighth in order that reigned after the great Orus, whose viceroy Joseph was,) yet will I hereby seek neither to fortify mine own conjecture, as touching Joseph, nor to infer any likelihood of Acherres's being Uchoreus. For it might well be, that Memphis was built by some such king as was Gehoar, lieutenant unto the [x] caliph Elcain, who having to his master's use conquered Egypt, and many other countries, did build, not far from old Memphis, the great city of Cairo, (corruptly so pronounced,) naming it El Cahira, that is, an enforcing, or an imperious mistress, though he himself were a Dalmatian slave.

SECT. III.

Of Cherres, Armeus, Ramesses, and Amenophis. Of Myris, and the lake that bears his name.

WHEN Acherres had reigned eight years, Cherres succeeded, and held the kingdom fifteen years; then reigned Armeus five years, and after him Ramesses sixty-eight. Of Armeus and Ramesses is that history understood by Eusebius, which is common among the Greeks, under the names of Danaus and Ægyptus. For it is said that Danaus, being expelled out of Egypt by his brother, fled into Greece, where he obtained the kingdom of Argos; that he had fifty

[x] John Leo, Hist. Afric. l. 1. and 8.

daughters, whom, upon seeming reconciliation, he gave in marriage to his brother's fifty sons, but commanded every one of them to kill her husband the first night; that only Hypermnestra, one of his daughters, did save her husband Lynceus, and suffered him to escape; finally, that for this fact all the bloody sisters, when they died, were enjoined this foolish punishment in hell, to fill a leaking vessel with water.

The reign of Danaus in Argos was indeed in this age, but that Armeus was Danaus, and Ramesses Ægyptus, is more than Reineccius believes; he rather takes Armeus to have been Myris, or Meris, who caused the great lake to be made which bears his name. For my own part, as I can easily believe that he, which fled out of Egypt into Greece, was a man of such quality as the soldan Sanar, of whom we spake before; so do I not find how in so short a reign as five years a work of that labour could be finished, which was required unto the lake of Myris, and the monuments therein; whereof his own sepulchre and his wife's being some part, it is manifest that he was not buried in Argos. Wherefore of Myris, and of all other kings, whose age is uncertain, and of whose reigns we have no assurance, I may truly say, that their great works are not enough to prove them of the house of Pharaoh, seeing that greater deeds, or more absolute, than were those of Joseph, who bought all the people of Egypt as bondmen, and all their land for bread; of Gehoar, who founded Cairo; and of Sanar, who made the country tributary; were performed by none of them.

It shall therefore be enough to set down the length of their reigns, whom we find to have followed one another in order of succession; but in rehearsing the great acts which were performed, I will not stand to examine whether they that did them were kings or no.

The lake of Myris is, by the report of Diodore and Herodotus, three thousand six hundred furlongs in compass, and fifty fathoms deep. It served to receive the waters of Nilus, when the overflow being too great was harmful to the country; and to supply the defect by letting out the

waters of the lake, when the river did not rise high enough. In opening the sluices of this lake, for the letting in or out of waters, were spent fifty talents; but the lake itself defrayed that cost, seeing the tribute imposed upon fish taken therein was every day one talent, which Myris gave to his wife to buy sweet ointments, and other ornaments for her body. In the midst of it was left an island, wherein were the sepulchres of Myris and his wife, and over each of them a pyramis that was a furlong, or (according to Herodotus) fifty paces high, having on the tops their statues, sitting in thrones. I find not the description of this lake in maps answerable to the report of historians, yet is it very great. The years of Armeus are by Manethon divided, by inserting one Armesis, (whom Eusebius omits,) that should have reigned one year and odd months of the time; but I hold not this difference worthy of examination.

After Ramesses, his son Amenophis held the kingdom forty years. Some give him only nineteen years; and Mercator thinks him to have been the king that was drowned in the Red sea, whereof I have already spoken in the first book.

SECT. IV.

Of the kings that reigned in the dynasty of the Larthes.

SETHOSIS, or Zethus, reigned after his father Amenophis fifty-five years. To him are ascribed the famous acts of that ancient Sesostris. But the state of the world was not such in these times, that so great an expedition as the old Sesostris made, could have been either easily performed or forgotten in the countries through which he passed, had it now been performed, as any man will perceive, if he look upon my chronological table, and consider who lived with this Zethus. With this king began the dynasty of the Larthes, which Reineccius conjectures to have had the same signification wherein the old kings of Hetruria were called *Lartes*, (the Hetrurians being issued out of Lydia, the Lydians out of Egypt,) and to have signified as much as *imperator*, or general. The wars in which these kings were generals, I take to have been against the Ethiopians; for

sure I am, that they troubled not the country of Palestina, that lay next unto them on the one hand, nor is it likely that they travelled over the desert sands on the other hand, to seek matter of conquest in the poor countries of Africa. But these generals (if the larthes were such) were not many; five only had that title, and the last of these took it, perhaps, as hereditary from the first; in such sort as the Roman emperors were proud for a while to be called Antonini, till the most unsuitable conditions of Heliogabalus made his successors forbear the name.

Here it may be objected, that the dynasties (as appears by this particular) took name from the kings; that the kings also did administer the government themselves, and that therefore I am deceived in ascribing so much unto the viceroys. But it is to be considered, that what is said of these larthes depends only upon conjecture, and that the authority of the regents or viceroys might be great enough, though some few kings took the conduct of armies into their own hands. For so we find in John Leo, l. 8. that the soldan of Egypt (after such time as the soldan Saladine, murdering the caliph, got the sovereignty to himself) had under him a viceroy, styled Eddaguadare, who had authority to place or displace any magistrates or officers; and that this man's family was almost as great as the soldan's own. Yet was there also the amir cabir, or lord-general of the soldan's forces, who had the charge of defending the land, and might, as he thought good, spend of the soldan's treasure. So might the office of the viceroys continue, though the kings themselves, taking the charge or title of generals upon them, did somewhat abridge the greatness of that second place. As for the names of the dynasties, it skills not whence they were drawn, whether from their country, as those of the Thebans and Diapolitans, or from some eminent men or man who ruled in that time, as many think that the seventeenth dynasty was called of the shepherds, because Joseph governed in part thereof; or from the kings themselves that reigned, as this was said to be of the larthes, *or generals*. The next, as Manetho (but Annius's Manetho)

hath it, was without any larthes, or generals, yet was it not without kings, forasmuch as Vaphres and Sesac reigned therein, if many others did not. But let us now return to the business which we left.

Ramses was king after Zethus, or Sethosis, threescore and six years. He is mistaken for that second Sesostris, of whom I have spoken in the first books. I find nothing worth rehearsal of this Ramses, or of Amenophis, and Annemenes, that followed him in order, the former of which reigned forty, the latter six and twenty years. Wherefore it may well be, that the name which Zethus had from valour was taken by these as hereditary.

Thuoris, the last of the larthes, reigned only seven years; yet is he thought to have been that Proteus of whom Herodotus hath mention, saying, that he took Helena from Paris, and after the sack of Troy restored her to Menelaus. I need say no more in refutation of this, than that the time of Thuoris's reign lasted not so long as from the rape of Helen to her restitution.

This Proteus, or Cetes, (as he is named by some,) together with Thon and others, mentioned by Greek writers in this business, or in other such matters, may seem to be under-officers: for such only are like to have had their residency about Pharos, and the sea-coast, where Menelaus arrived.

Of Proteus, who detained Helen, it is said, that he could foretell things to come, and that he could change himself into all shapes; whereby is signified his crafty head, for which he is grown into a proverb. The poets feigned him a sea-god, and keeper of Neptune's seal-fishes, for belike he was some under-officer to the admiral, having charge of the fishing about the isle of Pharos, as was said before.

Remphes the son of Proteus is reckoned the next king by Diodore, as also by Herodotus, who calls him Ramsinitus, and tells a long tale, fit to please children, of his covetousness, and how his treasure-house was robbed by a cunning thief that at last married his daughter. But of this a man may believe what he list. How long this king reigned

I know not, nor think that either he or his father did reign at all.

SECT. V.

Of Egyptian kings whose names are found scattering in sundry authors, their times being not recorded. The kings of Egypt, according to Cedrenus. Of Vaphres and Sesac.

MANY other names of Egyptian kings are found scattered here and there; as Tonephersobis, of whom Suidas delivers only the bare name and title; Senemures, or Senepos, mentioned in Macrobius, who perhaps was the same that by Suidas is called Senyes, or Evenes, noted by occasion of a great physician that lived under him; Banchyris, recorded by the same Suidas, for his great justice; and Thulis, of whom Suidas tells great matters; as, that his empire extended to the ocean sea; that he gave name to the isle of Thule, which some take to be Iceland; and that he consulted with the Devil, or (which is all one) with Seraphis, desiring to know, who before him had been, or after him should be so mighty as himself. The answer or confession of the Devil was remarkable; which I find Englished in the translation of Plessis's work, Of the Trueness of Christian Religion. The Greek verses are somewhat otherwise, and more imperfect in those copies that I have of Cedrenus and Suidas, but the sense is all one; which is this:

First *God*, and next *the Word*, and then *the Sprite*,
Which three be *one*, and join in *one* all three:
Whose force is endless. Get thee hence, frail wight,
The Man of life unknown excelleth thee.

I should have thought that Suidas had borrowed all this of Cedrenus, had I not found somewhat more in Suidas than Cedrenus hath hereof; as, the form of invocation which Thulis used, and that clause of his giving name to the island: though in this last point I hold Suidas to be deceived; as also Cedrenus is, or, at least, seems to me, in giving to this king such profound antiquity of reign. Indeed the very name of that book, cited often by Cedrenus, which he calls Little Genesis, is alone enough to breed

suspicion of some imposture; but the friarly stuff that he allegeth out of it is such as would serve to discredit himself, were it not otherwise apparent, that he was a man both devout and of good judgment in matters that fell within his compass. I will here set down the list of old Egyptian kings delivered by him, and leave the censure to others.

The first king of Egypt that he sets down is Mizraim, the son of Cham. After him he finds many of a new race, deriving their pedigree thus: Nimrod the son of Chus was also called Orion; and further, took upon him the name of the planet Saturn, had to wife Semiramis, who was of his own lineage, and by her three sons; Picus, surnamed Jupiter, Belus, and Ninus. Picus, chasing his father out of Assyria into Italy, reigned in his stead thirty years, and then gave up that kingdom to Juno, his sister and wife, and to Belus his son: after which Belus, who reigned only two years, Ninus had the kingdom, and married his own mother Semiramis. But Picus went into Italy, to visit his old father Saturn; Saturn forthwith resigned the kingdom to him. Picus Jupiter reigned in Italy threescore and two years, had threescore and ten wives or concubines, and about as many children; finally died, and lies buried in the isle of Crete. The principal of Jupiter's sons were Faunus, Perseus, and Apollo. Faunus was called by the name of the planet Mercury: he reigned in Italy after his father five and thirty years; and then (finding that all his brethren conspired against him) he went into Egypt with abundance of treasure; where, after the death of Mizraim, he got the kingdom, and held it nine and thirty years. After Mercury, Vulcan reigned in Egypt four years and a half. Then Sol the son of Vulcan reigned twenty years and a half. There followed in order Sosis, Osiris, Orus, and Thules, of whom we spake before: the length of their several reigns is not set down. After Thules was the great Sesostris king twenty years. His successor was Pharaoh, called Narecho, that held the crown fifty years, with which there passed from him the surname of Pharaoh to a very long posterity.

These reports of Cedrenus I hold it enough to set down as I find them; let their credit rest upon the author.

Others yet we find that are said to have reigned in Egypt, without any certain note when or how long; about whom I will not labour, as fearing more to be reprehended of vain curiosity, in the search made after these already rehearsed, than of negligence in omitting such as might have been added.

Vaphres the father-in-law to Salomon, and Sesac the afflicter of Rehoboam, lead us again into fair way, but not far. The name of Vaphres is not found in the scriptures; but we are beholden to [y] Clemens Alexandrinus and Eusebius for it. These give us not the length of his reign, but we know that he lived in the times of David and of Salomon. He came into Palestina with an army, took Gezar from the Canaanites, and gave it to his daughter, [z] Salomon's wife; though for her sake perhaps it was, that in time following either he, or (as I rather take it) Sesac his son, did favour the enemies of Salomon, who kept so many wives and concubines, besides this Egyptian princess. In the life of Rehoboam all hath been written that I find of Sesac, excepting the length of his reign, which must have been six and twenty years, if he were that Smendis with whom Eusebius begins the one and twentieth dynasty.

Now forasmuch as it would serve to no great purpose, that we knew the length of Sesac's reign, and of theirs that followed him, unless therewithal we knew the beginning of Sesac, upon which the rest have dependence, this course I take. From the fourth year of Jehoiakim king of Juda, in which Pharaoh Necho was slain, I reckon upwards the years of the same Necho, and of his predecessors, unto the beginning of Sesac; by which account the first year of Sesac is found concurrent with the twentieth of Salomon's reign, and the twenty-sixth of Sesac with the fifth of Rehoboam; wherein Sesac spoiled the temple, and died, enjoying the fruits of his sacrilege no longer than Joas the Isra-

[y] Clem. Strom. l. 1. Euseb. de Præp. Evang. l. 9. c. 4.
[z] 1 Kings ix. 16. and xi. 9.

elite and Crassus the Roman did; who, after him, spoiled the temple of Jerusalem.

To fill up the time between Sesac and Necho, I have rather taken those kings that I find in the Greek historians, than them which are in Eusebius's catalogue. For of these that are delivered by Eusebius, we find no name nor act recorded elsewhere, save only of Bocchoris, who is remembered by Diodore, Plutarch, and others; much being spoken of him, that makes him appear to have been a king. Hereunto I may add, that the succession is often interrupted in Eusebius by Ethiopians, which got the kingdom often, and held it long; whereas contrariwise it appears by the prophet Esay, that the counsellors of Pharaoh did vaunt of the long and flourishing continuance of that house, insomuch that they said of Pharaoh, [a] *I am the son of the wise, I am the son of the ancient king.* But that which overthrows the reckoning of Eusebius is the good agreement of it with his mistaken times of the kings of Juda. For though it please him well to see how the reigns of Josias and Necho meet by his computation, yet this indeed mars all; the reign of Josias being misplaced. This error grows from his omitting to compare the reigns of the kings of Juda with theirs of Israel; by which occasion Joram king of Israel is made to reign three years after Ahaziah of Juda; Samaria is taken by Salmanassar before Ezekias was king; and, in a word, all, or most of the kings have their beginnings placed in some other year of their collaterals than the scriptures have determined.

SECT. VI.

Of Chemmis, Cheops, Cephrenes, and other kings recited by Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus, which reigned between the times of Rehoboam and Ezekias.

FOLLOWING therefore the Greek historians, I place Chemmis, or (according to Diodore) Chembis, first in the rank of those that were kings after Sesac. He reigned fifty years, and built the greatest of the three pyramids, which

[a] Isai. xix. 11.

was accounted one of this world's wonders. The pyramis hath his name from the shape, in that it resembleth a flame of fire, growing from the bottom upwards, narrower and narrower to the top. This of Chemmis, being four-square, had a base of seven acres every way, and was above six acres high. It was of a very hard and durable stone, which had lasted, when Diodore saw it, about a thousand years, without complaining of any injury that it had suffered by weather in so long space. From the reign of Chemmis unto the age of Augustus Cæsar, wherein Diodore lived, are indeed a thousand years; which gives the better likelihood unto this time wherein Chemmis is placed. As for this and other pyramids, late writers testify that they have seen them yet standing.

After Chemmis, [b] Diodore placeth Cephrenes his brother; but doubtfully, and inclining rather to the opinion that his son Chabreus succeeded. Herodotus hath Cheops, (who might be Chabreus,) and Cephrenes after him. These are said to have been brethren; but the length of their reigns may argue the latter to have been son to the former; for Cheops reigned fifty years, Cephrenes fifty-six. These were, as Chemmis had been, builders of pyramids, whereby they purchased great hatred of their people, who already had over-laboured themselves in erecting the first. These pyramids were ordained to be tombs for those that raised them; but the malice of the Egyptians is said to have cast out their bodies, and to have called their monuments by the name of an herdsman that kept his beasts thereabouts. It may be, [c] that the robbing them of their honour, and entitling a poor fellow to their works, was held to be the casting out of their bodies; otherwise it is hard to conceive how it might be, that they, who had not power to avoid the like slavery laid upon them by the younger brother or son, should have power or leisure to take such revenge upon his predecessor. To the like malice may be ascribed the tale devised against Cheops's daughter; that her father, wanting money, did prostitute her, and that she

[b] Diodor. l. 1. Herod. l. 2. [c] Diod. Herod.

getting of every man that accompanied her one stone, did build with them a fourth pyramis, that stood in the midst of the other three. Belike she was an insolent lady, and made them follow their drudgery, for her sake, longer a while than they thought to have done, in raising a monument with the superfluity of her father's provisions.

Mycerinus the son of Cephrenes reigned after his father six years. He would have built as his foregoers did, but, prevented by death, finished not what he had begun. The people thought him a good king, for that he did set open the temples which Cheops and Cephrenes had kept shut. But an oracle threatened him with a short life of six years only, because of this his devotion; "For," said the oracle, "Egypt should have been afflicted an hundred and fifty "years, which thy predecessors knew, and performed for "their parts; but thou hast released it; therefore shalt thou "live but six years." It is very strange that the gods should be offended with a king for his piety, or that they should decree to make a country impious when the people were desirous to serve them; or, that they having so decreed, it should lie in the power of a king to alter destiny, and make the ordinance of the gods to fail in taking full effect. But these were Egyptian gods. The true God was doubtless more offended with the restitution of such idolatry than with the interruption. And who knows whether Chemmis did not learn somewhat at Jerusalem, in the last year of his father Sesac, that made him perceive, and deliver to those that followed him, the vanity of his Egyptian superstition? Sure it is, that his reign and the reigns of Cheops and Cephrenes were more long and more happy than that of Mycerinus, who, to delude the oracle, revelled away both days and nights, as if by keeping candles lighted he had changed his nights into days, and so doubled the time appointed; a service more pleasing to the Devil than the restitution of idolatry durst then seem, when it could speed no better. I find in Reineccius fifty years assigned to this king; which I verily believe to have been some error of the print, though I find it not corrected.

other such oversights, for I know no author that gives him so many years; and Reineccius himself takes notice of the oracle that threatened Mycerinus with a short life, as is before shewed.

Bocchorus is placed next unto Mycerinus by Diodore, who speaks no more of him than this, that he was a strong man of body, and excelling his predecessors in wit. He is spoken of by divers authors as one that loved justice; and may be taken for that Banchyris, whom Suidas commends in that kind: Eusebius reckons four and forty years of his reign.

After Bocchorus, one Sabacus an Ethiopian follows in the catalogue of Diodore; but certain ages after him. Herodotus, quite omitting Bocchorus, hath Asychis; who made a sharp law (as it was then held) against bad debtors, that their dead bodies should be in the creditors disposition till the debt was paid. This Asychis made a pyramis of brick, more costly and fair, in his own judgment, than any of those that the former kings had raised. Besides this Asychis, Herodotus placeth one Anysis, a blind man, before the Ethiopian. The reigns of these two are perhaps those many ages, which the Egyptians, to magnify their antiquities, accounted between Bocchorus and him that followed them. But all this could make but six years; and so long doth Functius, so long doth Reineccius hold that these two kings, between them both, did govern. If any man would lengthen this time, holding it unprobable that the reigns of two kings should have been so soon spent, he may do it by taking some years from Sethon or Psammeticus, and adding them to either of these: to add unto these, without subtracting from some other, would breed a manifest inconvenience; forasmuch as part of Sesac's reign must have been in [d] *the fifth of Rehoboam;* as also the last of Pharaoh Necho was the fourth of Jehoiakim, and the first of Nebuchadnezzar. For mine own part, I like it better to allow six years only to these two kings, than to lose the witness of Herodotus, who, concurring herein with the scrip-

[d] 1 Kings xiv. 25. 2 Chron. xii. 2.

tures, doth speak of Sennacherib's war; at which time Sethon was king of Egypt. I will not therefore add years unto these obscure names; for by adding unto these men three years, we shall thrust the beginning of Sethon out of place, and make it later than the death of Sennacherib. In regard of this agreement of Herodotus with the scriptures, I am the more willing to hold with him in his Egyptian kings. Otherwise it were a matter of no great envy, to leave both Asychis and Anysis out of the roll; which were easily done by placing Sesac lower, and extending his life yet six years further, or more (if the like abridgment shall be required of Psammeticus's reign) into the years of Rehoboam.

Of Sabacus the Ethiopian, who took the kingdom from Amysis, it is agreed by the most that he reigned fifty years. He was a merciful prince, not punishing all capital offences with death, but imposing bondage and bodily labour upon malefactors; by whose toil he both got much wealth into his own hands, letting out their service to hire, and performed many works of more use than pomp, to the singular benefit of the country. Zonaras calls this king Sua, the scriptures call him So. Hosea, the last king of Israel, made a league with him against Salmanassar, little to his good; for the Egyptian was more rich than warlike, and therefore his friendship could not preserve the Israelite from destruction.

It seems that the encroaching power of the Assyrian grew terrible to Egypt about these times; the victories of Tiglath Phulassar and Salmanassar, having eaten so far into Syria in the reign of this one king So, or Sabacus. Yea, perhaps it was in his days (for his reign began in the fourth of Menahem) that Phul himself did make the first entrance into Palestina. This caused So to animate the half-subdued people against their conquerors; but the help which he and his successor gave them was so faint, that Sennacherib's ambassador compared the Egyptian succour to a broken staff of reed. Such indeed had Hosea found it, and such Ezekias might have found it, had he not been

supported by the strong staff of Him that rules all nations with a rod of iron. It appears by the words of Rabsake, that the opinion was great in Juda of the Egyptian forces, [c] *for chariots and horsemen;* but this power, whatsoever it was, grew needful within a little while for the defence of Egypt itself, which So left unto Sethon his successor, having now fulfilled the fifty years of his reign. Herodotus and Diodorus have both one tale, from the relation of Egyptian priests, concerning the departure of this king; saying, that he left the country, and willingly retired into Ethiopia, because it was often signified unto him in his dreams, by the god which was worshipped at Thebes, that his reign should be neither long nor prosperous, unless he slew all the priests in Egypt; which rather than to do, he resigned his kingdom. Surely these Egyptian gods were of a strange quality, that so ill rewarded their servants, and invited kings to do them wrong. Well might the Egyptians (as they likewise did) worship dogs as gods, when their chief gods had the property of dogs, which love their masters the better for beating them. Yet to what end the priests should have feigned this tale, I cannot tell; and therefore I think that it might be some device of the fearful old man, who seeing his realm in danger of an invasion, sought an honest excuse for his departure out of it, and withdrawing himself into Ethiopia, where he had been bred in his youth. What if one should say, that the Ethiopia into which he went, was none other than Arabia, whereof Tirhaka the king (perhaps at the instigation of this man) raised an army against Sennacherib, when he meant to invade Egypt, within two or three years after? But I will not trouble myself with such inquiry. This I hold, that So, or Sabacus, was not indeed an Ethiopian, (for in his time lived the prophet Isaiah, who mentioneth the antiquity of Pharaoh's house,) but only so surnamed for his education, and because issuing from thence he got the kingdom from Anysis, who was his opposite. The quiet and mild form of his government; his holding the kingdom so long without an

[c] 2 Kings xviii. 24.

army; and many other circumstances argue no less. But whether finally he betook to a private life, or whether he forewent his life and kingdom at once, being now very old, it is time that we leave him, and speak of Sethon his next successor, who is omitted by Diodore, but remembered by Herodotus by a sure token of his having been king.

SECT. VII.

Of Sethon who reigned with Ezekias, and sided with him against Sennacherib.

THE first year of Sethon's reign falls into the twelfth of Ezekias, which was the fifth of Sennasherib. It was a troublesome age, and full of danger; the two great kingdoms of Assyria and Egypt being then engaged in a war, the issue whereof was to determine whether of them should rule or serve. The Assyrian had the better men of war; the Egyptian, better provision of necessaries; the Assyrian, more subjects; the Egyptian, more friends; and among the new conquered half-subjects of Assur, many that were Egyptian in heart, though Assyrian in outward show.

Of this last sort were Ezekias and his people; who, knowing how much it concerned Pharaoh to protect them against his own great enemy, preferred the friendship of so near and mighty a neighbour before the service of a terrible, yet far removed king. But herein was great difference between Ezekias and his subjects; for the good king, fixing his especial confidence in God, held that course of policy which he thought most likely to turn to the benefit of his country; the multitude of Judæa, looking into the fair hopes which this Egyptian league promised, were puffed up with vain conceits, thinking that all was safe, and that now they should not need to fear any more of those injuries which they had suffered by the Assyrians, and so became forgetful of God, [f] *taking counsel, but not of him.* The prophet Isaiah complained much of this presumption; giving the people of Juda to understand, that [g] *the Egyptians were men, and not God, and their horses*

[f] Isaiah xxx. 1. [g] Isaiah xxxi. 3. 8. Isaiah xxx. 7. Isaiah iii. 4.

flesh, and not spirit; that God himself should defend Israel upon repentance, and that *Assur should fall by the sword, but not of man.* As for the Egyptians, (said the prophet,) *they are vanity, and they shall help in vain, their strength is to sit still.*

According to the prophet's words it came to pass: for in the treaty of confederacy that was held at Zoan, all manner of contentment and assurance was given to the Jews by Sethon, or his agents, who filled them with such reports of horses and chariots, that *they did not look* (as saith Isaiah xxxi. 1, 2.) *unto the Holy One of Israel, nor seek unto the Lord. But he yet is wisest.*

After a while came Sennacherib with his army, and wakened them out of these dreams; for Sethon their good neighbour, as near as he was, did seem far off, being unready when his help was most needful. It may seem that he purposed rather to make Palestina than Egypt the stage whereon this great war should be acted, and was not without hope, that the Assyrians and Jews, weakening one another, should yield unto him a fair advantage over both. Yet he fought with money; for he sent horses and camels laden with treasure, to hire the Arabians, whom [h] Isaiah calleth *a people that cannot profit.* These Arabians did not profit indeed; for (besides that it seems by the same place of Isaiah, that the rich treasures miscarried, and fell into the enemies' hands before any help appeared from Tirhaca) all the strong cities of Juda were taken by Sennacherib, except Libna, Lachis, and Jerusalem itself, which were in sore distress, till the sword of God, and not of man, defeated the Assyrian, who did go, [i] *for fear, to his tower;* that is, he fled to Nineveh, where he was slain.

Concerning this expedition of Sennacherib, Herodotus takes this notice of it; that it was purposed against Egypt, where the men of war being offended with Sethon their king, who had taken away their allowance, refused to bear arms in defence of him and the country; that Sethon being Vulcan's priest, bemoaned himself to his god, who by

[h] Isaiah xxx. 6. [i] Isaiah xxxi. 9.

dream promised to send him helpers: that hereupon Sethon, with such as would follow him, (which were craftsmen, shopkeepers, and the like,) marched towards Pelusium; and that a great multitude of field-mice, entering the camp of Sennacherib by night, did so gnaw the bows, quivers, and straps of his men's armour, that they were fain the next day to fly away in all haste, finding themselves disarmed. In memory hereof, (saith Herodotus,) the statue of this king is set up in the temple of Vulcan, holding a mouse in his hand, with this inscription: "Let him that beholds "me, serve God." Such was the relation of the Egyptian priests, wherein how far they swerved from the truth, being desirous to magnify their own king, it may easily be perceived. It seems that this image of Sethon was fallen down, and the tale forgotten in Diodorus's time, or else perhaps the priests did forbear to tell it him, (which caused him to omit it,) for that the nation of the Jews was then well known to the world, whereof every child could have told how much falsehood had been mingled with the truth.

We find this history agreeable to the scriptures thus far forth: that Sennacherib king of the Assyrians and Arabians (so Herodotus calleth him; the Syrians, or peradventure some borderers upon Syria, being meant by the name of Arabians) lived in this age, made war upon Egypt, and was miraculously driven home. As for that exploit of the mice, and the great pleasure that Vulcan did unto his priest, happy it was (if Sethon were a priest) that he took his god now in so good a mood. For within three or four years before this, all the priests in Egypt should have been slain, if a merciful king had not spared their lives, as it were half against the god's will. Therefore this last good turn was not enough to serve as an example, that might stir up the Egyptians to piety, seeing that their devotion, which had lasted so long before, did bring all the priests into danger of such a bad reward. Rather I think, that this image did represent Sennacherib himself, and that the mouse in his hand signified hieroglyphically (as was the

Egyptian manner of expressing things) the shameful issue of his terrible expedition, or the destruction of his army, by means which came no man knew from whence. For the vengeance of God shewed upon this ungodly king was indeed a very good motive to piety. But the emblem, together with the temple of Vulcan, (being perhaps the chief temple in that town where this image was erected,) might give occasion to such a fable, the Devil helping to change the truth into a lie, that God might be robbed of his honour. Yet that we may not belie the Devil, I hold it very likely that Sethon, finding himself in danger, did call upon his gods, that is, upon Vulcan, Serapis, or any to whom he had most devotion. But so had other of his predecessors done in the like need; yet which of them had obtained succour by the like miracle? Surely the Jews (even such of them as most were given to idolatry) would have been ashamed of the confidence which they reposed [k] *in the chariots of Egypt, because they were many; and in the horsemen, because they were very strong;* had it been told them, that Sethon, instead of sending those horsemen and chariots, was beseeching Vulcan to send him and them good luck, or else (for these also were Egyptian gods) addressing his prayers to some onion or cat. Howsoever it was, doubtless the prophecy of Isaiah took effect, which said, *They shall be all ashamed of the people that cannot profit them, nor help, nor do them good; but shall be a shame, and also a reproach.* Such is commonly the issue of human wisdom, when resting secure upon provision that itself hath made, it will no longer seem to stand in need of God.

Some there are who take Sethon to have been set down by Eusebius under the name of Tarachus the Ethiopian; and therefore the twenty years which are given to Tarachus, they allow to the reign of Sethon. These have well observed, that Tarachus the Ethiopian is mentioned in the scriptures, not as a king of Egypt, but as a friend to that country, or at least an enemy to Sennacherib, in the war

[k] Isai. xxxi. 1.

last spoken of; the Ethiopians, (as they are Englished,) over which he reigned, being indeed Chusites or Arabians. Hereupon they suppose aright, that Eusebius hath mistaken one king for another. But whereas they think, that this Tarachus, or Tirhaka, is placed in the room of Sethon, and therefore give to Sethon the twenty years of Tarachus, I hold them to have erred on the other hand. For this Ethiopian (as he is called) began his reign over Egypt, by Eusebius's account, after the death of Sennacherib and of Ezekias in the first year of Manasses king of Juda; therefore he, or his years, have no reference to Sethon.

Herodotus forgets to tell how long Sethon reigned; Functius peremptorily, citing no author, nor alleging reason for it, sets him down thirty-three years; many omit him quite; and they that name him are not careful to examine his continuance. In this case, I follow that rule which I propounded unto myself at the first, for measuring the reigns of these Egyptian kings. The years which passed from the fifth of Rehoboam unto the fourth of Jehoiakim, I so divide among the Egyptians, that giving to every one the proportion allowed unto him by the author in whom he is found, the rest is to be conferred upon him whose length of reign is uncertain, that is, upon this Sethon. By this account I find the thirty-three years that are set down by Functius, to agree very nearly, if not precisely, with the time of Sethon's reign; therefore I conform my own reckoning to his, though I could be content to have it one year less. The reason of this computation I shall render more at large when I arrive at the time of Psammiticus, whereupon it hath much dependance, and whereinto the course of this history will shortly bring me; the Egyptian affairs growing now to be interlaced with the matters of Juda, to which it is meet that I return.

CHAP. XXVII.

Of Manasses, and his contemporaries.

SECT. I.

The wickedness of Manasses. His imprisonment, repentance, and death.

MANASSES the son of Ezekias, forgetting the piety of his father, and the prosperity which followed him, set up, repaired, adorned, and furnished all the altars, temples, and high places, in which the Devil was by the heathen worshipped. Besides, he himself esteemed the sun, the moon, and the stars, with all the host of heaven, as gods, and worshipped them; and of all his acts, the most abominable was, that he burnt his sons for a sacrifice to the devil Moloch, or Melchor, in the valley of Hinnon, or Benhennon, wherein was kindled the fire of sacrifice to the devils.

He also gave himself to all kind of witchcraft and sorcery, accompanied and maintained those that had familiar spirits, and all sorts of enchanters: besides, he shed so much innocent blood, as Jerusalem was replenished therewith from corner to corner. For all his vices and abominations, when he was reprehended by that aged and reverend prophet [l] Isaiah, (who was also of the king's race, and, as the Jews affirm, the father-in-law of the king,) he caused the prophet, near unto the fountain of Siloe, to be sawn in sunder with a wooden saw, in the 80th year of his life; a cruelty more barbarous and monstrous than hath been heard of. The scriptures indeed are silent hereof, yet the same is confirmed by Epiphanius, Isidore, Eusebius, and others, too many to rehearse, and too good to be suspected. [m] *Therefore the Lord brought upon them the captains of the host of the kings of Ashur, which took Manasses, and put him in fetters, and bound him in chains, and carried him to Babel:* where after he had lien twenty years as a captive, and despoiled of all honour and hope, yet to his

[l] Just. Mart. Cedrenus, c. 19. Glycas, p. 275. Tertull. de Pat.
[m] 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11.

hearty repentance and continual prayer the God of infinite mercy had respect, and moved the Assyrian's heart to deliver him.

It is also likely that Merodach, because he loved his father Ezekias, was the easilier persuaded to restore Manasses to his liberty and estate. After which, and when he was again established, remembering the miseries which followed his wickedness, and God's great mercies towards him, he changed form, detested his former foolish and devilish idolatry, and cast down the idols of his own erection, prepared the altar of God, and sacrificed thereon. He repaired a great part of Jerusalem, and died after the long reign of fifty-five years. Glycas and Suidas report, that Manasses was held in a case of iron by the Assyrians, and therein fed with bread of bran and water; which men may believe as it shall please their fancies.

SECT. II.

Of troubles in Egypt following the death of Sethon. The reign of Psammiticus.

THAT the wickedness of king Manasses was the cause of the evil which fell upon his kingdom and person, any Christian must needs believe, for it is affirmed in the scriptures. Yet was the state of things in those parts of the world such, at that time, as would have invited any prince, (and did perhaps invite Merodach, who fulfilled God's pleasure, upon respect borne to his own ends,) desirous of enlarging his empire, to make attempt upon Juda. For the kingdom of Egypt, which was become the pillar whereon the state of Juda leaned, about these times was miserably distracted with civil dissension, and, after two years, ill amended by a division of the government between twelve princes. After some good agreement between these, eleven of them fell out with the twelfth of their colleagues, and were all finally subdued by him, who made himself absolute king of all. This interregnum, or mere anarchy, that was in Egypt, with the division of the kingdom following it, is placed by Diodore, who omitteth Sethon, between the reigns of Sebi[illegible]

cus and Psammiticus; but Herodotus doth set the aristocraty, or twelve governors, immediately before Psammiticus, who was one of them, and after Sethon.

The occasion of this dissension seems to have been the uncertainty of title to that kingdom, (for that the crown of Egypt passed by succession of blood I have often shewed,) which ended for a while by the partition of all among twelve, though things were not settled until one had obtained the sovereignty.

These twelve rulers governed fifteen years, in good seeming agreement, which to preserve they made strait covenants and alliances one with another, being jealous of their estate, because an oracle had foretold that one of them should depose all the rest, noting him by this token, that he should make a drink-offering in Vulcan's temple out of a copper goblet. Whilst this unity lasted, they joined together in raising a monument of their dominion, which was a labyrinth, built near unto the lake of Mœris; a work so admirable, that (as Herodotus, who beheld it, affirms) no words could give it commendation answerable to the stateliness of the work itself. I will not here set down that unperfect description which Herodotus makes of it, but think enough to say, that he prefers it far before the pyramids, one of which (as he saith) excelled the temple of Diana at Ephesus, or any of the fairest works in Greece. Diodorus reports this labyrinth to have been the work of Marus, or Menides, a king which lived five generations before Proteus, that is, before the war of Troy, and from this labyrinth, saith he, Dædalus took the pattern of that which he made for Minos in Crete. Who this Marus, or Menides, was, I cannot tell. Reineccius takes him to have been Annemenes, which reigned immediately before Thuoris. But this agrees not with Diodore; for Dædalus and Minos were both dead long before Annemenes was king. Belike Reineccius, desiring to accommodate the fabulous relations of Manethon, Chæremon, and others, that are found in [n] Josephus touching Amenophis and his children, to the story of Amasis, and

[n] Joseph. cont. Appion. l. 1.

Actisanes the Ethiopian, mentioned by Diodore; held it consequent, after he had conjectured Manethon's Amenophis to be Diodorus's Amasis, that Sethon should be Actisanes, and that Annemenes should be Marus. If in this case I might intrude a conjecture, the times which we now handle are those about which Reineccius hath erred in making search; Amasis was Anysis, Actisanes was Sabacus, and Marus was one of those twelve princes to whom Herodotus gives the honour of building this famous labyrinth. For Actisanes the Ethiopian deposed Amasis, Sabacus the Ethiopian deposed Anysis; Actisanes governed well, and was mild in punishing offenders; so likewise was Sabacus: Marus, the next king after Actisanes, built this labyrinth; and the next (saving Sethon, whom Diodore omits, as having not heard of him) that ruled after Sabacus, performed the same work, according to Herodotus, who was more likely to hear the truth, as living nearer to the age wherein it was performed. The variety of names, and difference of times wherein Diodore believed the priest, might be a part of the Egyptian vanity, which was familiar with them, in multiplying their kings and boasting of their antiquities. Here I might add, that the twelve great halls, parlours, and other circumstances remembered by Herodotus, in speaking of this building, do help to prove, that it was the work of these twelve princes. But I hasten to their end.

At a solemn feast in Vulcan's temple, when they were to make their drink-offerings, the priest forgetting himself, brought forth no more than eleven cups. Hereupon Psammiticus, who standing last had not a cup, took off his brasen helmet, and therewith supplied the want. This caused all the rest to remember the oracle, and to suspect him as a traitor; yet, when they found that it was not done by him upon set purpose or ill intent, they forbare to kill him; but, being jealous of their estate, they banished him into the marish countries by the sea-side. This oracle, and the event, is held by Diodore as a fable, which I believe to have been none other: in the rest Herodotus and Diodore agree, saying, that Psammiticus hired soldiers out of Caria and

Ionia, by whose aid he vanquished his companions, and made himself sole king.

The years of his reign, according to Herodotus, were fifty-four; according to Eusebius forty-four; Mercator, to reconcile these two, gives forty-four years to his single reign, and ten to his ruling jointly with the princes before spoken of. Indeed, he that was admitted, being a man grown, (for he cannot in reason be supposed to have been then a young fellow,) into the number of the twelve governors, must be thought to have lived unto extreme old age, if he ruled partly with others, partly alone, threescore and nine years. I therefore yield rather to Eusebius, but will not adventure to cut five years from the aristocraty; though peradventure Psammiticus was not at first one of the twelve, but succeeded (either by election, or as next of blood) into the place of some prince that died, and was ten years companion in that government.

Another scruple there is, though not great, which troubles this reckoning. The years of these Egyptians, as we find them set down, are more by one than serve to fill up the time between the fifth of Rehoboam and the fourth of Jehoiakim. This may not be. Wherefore either we must abate one year from Sethon's reign, that was of uncertain length; or else (which I had rather do, because Functius may have followed better authority than I know, or than himself allegeth, in giving to Sethon a time so nearly agreeing with the truth) we must confound the last year of one reign with the first of another. Such a supposition were not insolent. For no man can suppose, that all the kings, or any great part of them, which are set down in chronological tables, reigned precisely so many years as are ascribed unto them, without any fractions: it is enough to think, that the surplusage of one man's time supplied the defect of another's. Wherefore I confound the last year of those fifteen, wherein the twelve princes ruled, with the first of Psammiticus, who surely did not fall out with his companions, fight with them, and make himself lord *alone, all* in one day.

Concerning this king, it is recorded that he was the first in Egypt who entertained any strait amity with the Greeks; that he retained in pay his mercenaries of Caria, Ionia, and Arabia, to whom he gave large rewards and possessions; and that he greatly offended his Egyptian soldiers, by bestowing them in the left wing of his army, whilst his mercenaries held the right wing (which was the more honourable place) in an expedition that he made into Syria. Upon this disgrace, it is said that his soldiers, to the number of two hundred thousand, forsook their natural country of Egypt, and went into Ethiopia, to dwell there; neither could they be revoked by kind messages, nor by the king himself, who overtook them on the way; but when he told them of their country, their wives, and children, they answered, that their weapons should get them a country, and that nature had enabled them to get other wives and children.

It is also reported of him, that he caused two infants to be brought up in such sort as they might not hear any word spoken; by which means he hoped to find out what nation or language was most ancient, forasmuch as it seemed likely that nature would teach the children to speak that language which men spake at the first. The issue hereof was, that the children cried *beccus*, *beccus*, which word being found to signify bread in the Phrygian tongue, served greatly to magnify the Phrygian antiquity. Goropius Becanus makes no small matter of this, for the honour of his Low Dutch, in which the word *becker* signifies (as *baker* in English) a maker of bread. He that will turn over any part of Goropius's works may find enough of this kind to persuade a willing man, that Adam and all the patriarchs used none other tongue than the Low Dutch, before the confusion of languages at Babel; the name itself of Babel being also Dutch, and given by occasion of this confusion, for that there they began to babble and talk one knew not what.

But I will not insist upon all that is written of Psammiticus. The most regardable of his acts was the siege of

Azotus in Palæstina, about which he spent nine and twenty years. Never have we heard (saith Herodotus) that any city endured so long a siege as this, yet Psammiticus carried it at the last. This town of [o] Azotus had been won by Tartan, a captain of Sennacherib, and was now, as it seemeth, relieved, but in vain, by the Babylonian, which made it hold out so well.

SECT. III.

What reference these Egyptian matters might have to the imprisonment and enlargement of Manasses. In what part of his reign Manasses was taken prisoner.

WERE it certainly known in what year of his reign Manasses was taken prisoner, and how long it was before he obtained liberty, I think we should find these Egyptian troubles to have been no small occasion both of his captivity and enlargement; God so disposing of human actions, that even they, who intended only their own business, fulfilled only his high pleasure. For either the civil wars in Egypt that followed upon the death of Sethon, or the renting of the kingdom as it were into twelve pieces, or the war between Psammiticus and his colleagues, or the expedition of Psammiticus unto Syria, and the siege of Azotus, might minister unto the Babylonian, either such cause of hope to enlarge his dominion in the south parts, or such necessity of sending an army into those parts to defend his own, as would greatly tempt him to make sure work with the king of Juda. The same occasions sufficed also to procure the delivery of Manasses, after he was taken. For he was taken (as [p] Josephus hath it) by subtilty, not by open force, neither did they that apprehended him win his country, but only waste it. So that the Jews, having learned wit by the ill success of their folly, in redeeming Amaziah, were like to be more circumspect in making their bargain upon such another accident; and the Babylonian (to whom the Egyptian matters presented more weighty arguments of hope and fear than the little kingdom of Juda could afford) had no reason to spend his forces in pursuing a small con-

[o] Isai. xx. 1. [p] Joseph. Ant. l. 10. c. 4.

quest, but as full of difficulty as a greater, whereby he should compel his mightiest enemies to come to some good agreement, when by quitting his present advantage over the Jews, he might make his way the fairer into Egypt.

Now concerning the year of Manasses's reign, wherein he was taken prisoner, or concerning his captivity itself, how long it lasted, the scriptures are silent, and Josephus gives no information. Yet I find cited by Torniellus three opinions, the one of Bellarmine, who thinks that Manasses was taken in the fifteenth year of his reign; the other of the author of the greater Hebrew chronology, who affirms, that it was in his twenty-seventh year; the third of Rabbi Kimhi upon Ezekiel, who saith, that he was forty years an idolater, and lived fifteen years after his repentance. The first of these conjectures is upheld by Torniellus, who rejects the second, as more unprobable, and condemns the third as most false. Yet the reasons alleged by Torniellus in defence of the first, and refutation of the last opinion, are such as may rather prove him to favour the cardinal, as far as he may, (for where need requires, he doth freely dissent from him,) than to have used his accustomed diligence in examining the matter before he gave his judgment. Two arguments he brings to maintain the opinion of Bellarmine; the one, that Ammon the son of Manasses is said by Josephus to have followed the works of his father's youth; the other, that had Manasses grown old in his sins, it is not like that he should have continued as he did, in his amendment unto the end of his life. Touching the former of these arguments, I see no reason why the sins of Manasses might not be distinguished from his repentance in his old age, by calling them *works of his youth*, which appeared when he was twelve years old; though it were granted that he continued in them (according to that of Rabbi Kimhi) until he was but fifteen years from death. Touching the second, howsoever it be a fearful thing to cast off unto the last those good motions unto repentance, which we know not whether ever God will offer unto us again; yet were it a terrible

hearing, that the sins which are not forsaken before the age of two and fifty years shall be punished with final impenitency. But against these two collections of Torniellus, I will lay two places of scripture, whence it may be inferred, as not unlikely, that Manasses continued longer in his wickedness than Bellarmine hath intimated, if not as long as Rabbi Kimhi hath affirmed. In the second book of Kings, the evil which Manasses did is remembered at large, and his repentance utterly omitted; so that his amendment may seem to have taken up no great part of his life, the story of him being thus concluded in the one and twentieth chapter; [q] *Concerning the rest of the acts of Manasses, and all that he did, and his sin that he sinned, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Juda?* The other place is in the four and twentieth chapter of the same book, where, in rehearsing the calamities with which that nation was punished in the time of Jehoiakim, the great grandchild of this Manasses, it is said; [r] *Surely by the commandment of the Lord came this upon Juda, that he might put them out of his sight, for the sins of Manasses, according to all that he did, and for the innocent blood that he shed; for he filled Jerusalem with innocent blood; therefore the Lord would not pardon it.* Whoso considers well these places, may find small cause to pronounce it most false, that the repentance and amendment of Manasses was no earlier than fifteen years before his death; or most probable, that when he was twenty-seven years old he repented, and becoming a new man, lived in the fear of God forty years after. I will no longer dispute about this matter, seeing that the truth cannot be discovered. It sufficeth to say, that two years of civil dissension in Egypt, fourteen or fifteen years following, wherein that kingdom was weakened by partition of the sovereignty; the war of Psammiticus against his associates; and four and twenty years of the nine and twenty wherein the siege of Azotus continued, being all within the time of Manasses, did leave no one

[q] 2 Kings xxi. 17. [r] 2 Kings xxiv. 3, 4.

part of his reign (after the first fifteen years) free from the danger of being oppressed by the Babylonian, whose men of war had continual occasions of visiting his country. All which I will add hereto is this, that the fifteenth of Manasses was the last year of Sethon in Egypt, and the one and thirtieth of Merodach's reign, or (accounting from the death of Asarhaddon) the twentieth: the seven and twentieth of Manasses was the tenth of the twelve princes, and the three and fortieth of Merodach: his fortieth was the twenty-third of Psammiticus, and the fifth of Nabulassar the son of Merodach in Babylon: but which of these was the year of his imprisonment, or whether any other, I forbear to shew mine opinion, lest I should thereby seem to draw all matters over-violently to mine own computation.

This was the first great mastery that the Babylonians had of the kingdom of Juda. For though Ahaz promised tribute to Salmanassar, yet Ezekias never paid it. True it is, that he hoped to stay [s] Sennacherib's enterprise against him, by presenting him with three hundred talents of silver and thirty of gold, besides the plate which covered the doors and pillars of the temple.

But Manasses being pressed with greater necessity, could refuse no tolerable conditions that the Babylonian would impose upon him, among which it seems that this was one, (which was indeed a point of servitude,) that he might not hold peace with the Egyptians, whilst they were enemies to Babylon. This appears, not only by his fortifying with men of war all the strong cities of Juda after his return, (which was rather against Psammiticus, whose party he had forsaken, than against the Babylonian, with whom he had thenceforth no more controversy,) but likewise by that opposition which Josias made afterwards to Pharaoh Necho, in favour of Nabulassar, which had been against all reason and policy, if it had not been his duty by covenant. Of this I will speak more in convenient place.

[s] 2 Kings xviii.

SECT. IV.

Of the first and second Messenian wars, which were in the reigns of Ezekias and Manasses, kings of Juda.

NOW concerning such actions as were performed abroad in the world, about these times of Manasses, the most remarkable were the Messenian wars, which happening in this age, and being the greatest action performed in Greece, between the Trojan and Persian wars, deserve not to be passed over with silence.

The first Messenian war began and ended in the days of Ezekias, the second in the reign of Manasses: but to avoid the trouble of interrupting our history, I have thought it best to rehearse them both in this place. Other introduction is needless, than to say, that the posterity of Hercules, driving the issue of Pelops and the Acheans out of their seats, divided their lands between themselves, and erected the kingdoms of Lacedæmon, Argos, Messene, and Corinth; all which agreeing well together a while, did afterwards forget the bond of kindred, and sought one another's ruin with bloody wars, whereof these Messenian were the greatest.

The pretended grounds of the Messenian war are scarce worth remembrance, they were so slight. Ambition was the true cause of it, wherewith the Lacedæmonians were so transported, that any thing served them as a colour to accomplish their greedy desires. Yet other matter was alleged, namely, that one Polychares, a Messenian, had slain many Lacedæmonians, for which the magistrates of Sparta desiring to have him yielded into their hands, could not obtain it. The Messenians on the other side excused Polychares, for that he was grown frantic through injuries received from Euæphnes a Lacedæmonian. This Euæphnes had bargained to give pasture to the cattle of Polychares, and was therefore to receive part of the increase; but not contented with the gain appointed, he sold the cattle, and slaves that kept them, to merchants; which done, he came with a fair tale to his friend, saying, that they were stolen. Whilst the lie was yet scarce out of his mouth, one of the slaves, that had escaped from the merchants, came in

with a true report of all. The Lacedæmonian being thus deprehended, confessed all, and promised large amends; which to receive, he carried the son of Polychares home with him, but having him at home he villainously slew him. Wherefore the Lacedæmonians having refused, after long suit made by the wretched father, to do him right against this thief and murderer, ought not to pick matter of quarrel out of those things, which he did in that madness whereinto they themselves had cast him. So said the Messsenians, and further offered to put the matter to compromise, or to stand unto the judgment of the Amphictyons, who were as the general council of Greece, or to any other fair course. But the Lacedæmonians, who had a great desire to occupy the fair country of Messene, that lay close by them, were not content with such allegations. They thought it enough to have some show for their doings, which the better to colour, they reckoned up many old injuries, and so, without sending any defiance, secretly took an oath to hold war with Messene till they had mastered it: which done, they seized upon Amphia, a frontier town of that province, wherein they put all to the sword without mercy, very few escaping.

Hereupon the Messenians took arms, and were met by the enemy. A furious battle was fought between them, which ended not until dark night, with uncertain victory. The Messenians did strongly encamp themselves; the Lacedæmonians, unable to force their camp, returned home. This war began in the second year of the ninth Olympiad, and ended in the first of the fourteenth Olympiad, having lasted twenty years. The two enemy nations tried the matter for a while with their proper forces, the Lacedæmonians wasting the inland parts of Messene, and the Messenians the sea-coast of Laconia. But it was not long ere friends on both sides were called in to help. The Arcadians, Argives, and Sicyonians took part with Messene; the Spartans had, besides many subjects of their own, aid from Corinth, and hired soldiers out of Crete. So a second, third, and fourth battle were fought with as great obstinacy as the

first; saving that, in the fourth battle, the Lacedæmonians were enforced to turn their backs; in the other fights, the victory was still uncertain, though in one of them the Messenians lost Euphaes, their king, in whose stead they chose Aristodemus.

Many years were spent, ere all this blood was shed; for pestilent diseases, and want of money to entertain soldiers, caused the war to linger. And for the same reasons did the Messenians forsake all their inland towns, excepting Ithome, which was a mountain with a town upon it, able to endure more than the enemies were likely to do. But, as [t] some authors tell us, the Lacedæmonians were so obstinate in this war, because of their vow, that having absented themselves ten years from Sparta, their wives sent them word, that their city would grow unpeopled, by reason that no children had been borne them in all that time: whereupon they sent back all their ablest young men, promiscuously to accompany the young women, who got so many of them with child, as they became a great part of their nation, and were called Parthenians. [u] Diodorus refers the begetting of these Parthenians to a former time. But in process of this Messenian war, when the Devil in an oracle had advised the Messenians to sacrifice a virgin of the stock of [x] Ægyptus, that so they might be victorious against the Lacedæmonians; the lot falling upon the daughter of one Lyciscus, Ephibolus the priest, willing to save her, said she was only a fostered child, and not born of the wife of Lyciscus: which answer giving delay to the execution of the maid, Lyciscus secretly fled away with her into Sparta. Then Aristodemus, which afterwards was king, voluntarily offered his own daughter: but a young nobleman, being in love with the maid, when otherwise he could not prevail, said openly that she was no virgin, but that he had defloured her, and got her with child: whereupon the father in a rage ripped up his innocent daughter's belly, to disprove

[t] Strabo, l. 9. Oros. l. 1. cap. 21.
[u] Diod. l. 15.
[x] This Ægyptus was the youngest son of Cresphon by Merope, the daughter of Cypselus king of Arcadia; of which Cresphon the chief nobility of the Messenians was propagated.

the lover's slander: at the grave of which daughter of his, afterwards falling by other superstitions into despair of prevailing against the Lacedæmonians, he slew himself, to the great hurt of his country, which he loved most dearly. For after his death the Messenians lost their courage, and finding themselves distressed by many wants, especially of victuals, they craved peace; which they obtained under most rigorous conditions. Half the yearly fruits of their land they were bound to send unto Sparta; and they, with their wives, to make solemn lamentations, at the death of every Spartan king: they were also sworn to live in true subjection to the Lacedæmonians; and part of their territory was taken from them, which was given to the Asmæi, and such as had followed the Spartans in this war.

This peace being made upon so uneven terms, was not like to hold long. Yet nine and thirty years it continued, (the Messenians not finding how to help themselves,) and then brake out into a new and more furious war than the former. The able young men, that were grown up in the room of those Messenians whom the former war had consumed, began to consider their own strength and multitude, thinking themselves equal to the Lacedæmonians, and therefore scorning to serve such masters as had against all right oppressed their fathers. The chief of these was Aristomenes, a noble gentleman, of the house of Ægyptus, who perceiving the uniform desires of his countrymen, adventured to become their leader. He therefore sounding the affections of the Argives and Arcadians, which he found throughly answerable to his purpose, began open war upon the state of Lacedæmon. This was in the fourth year of the three and twentieth Olympiad; when the Lacedæmonians hasted to quench the fire, before it should grow too hot, with such forces as they could raise of their own, without troubling their friends, meaning to deal with their enemies ere any succour were lent them. So a strong battle was fought between them, and a doubtful; save that the Messenians were pleased with the issue, forasmuch as they had thereby taught their late proud lords to think them their equals.

Particularly, the valour of Aristomenes appeared such in this fight, that his people would have made him their king; but he, refusing the honour of that name, accepted of the burden, and became their general. Within one year another battle was fought, whereunto each party came better provided. The Lacedæmonians brought with them the Corinthians, and some other friends to help; the Messenians had the Argives, Arcadians, and Sicyonians. This also was a long and bloody fight: but Aristomenes did so behave himself, that finally he made the enemies run for their lives. Of such importance was this victory, that the Lacedæmonians began to bethink themselves of making some good agreement. But one Tyrtæus, an Athenian poet, whom by appointment of an oracle they had gotten to direct them, reinforced their spirits with his verses. After this, Aristomenes took by surprise a town in Laconia, and vanquished in fight Anaxander king of Sparta, who did set upon him in hopes to have recovered the booty.

But all these victories of Aristomenes perished in the loss of one battle, whereof the honour, (if it were honour,) or surely the profit, fell unto the Lacedæmonians, through the treason of Aristocrates, king of Arcadia, who being corrupted by the enemies with money, fled away, and left the Messenians exposed to a cruel butchery. The loss was so great, that together with Andania, their principal city, all the towns in Messene, standing too far from the sea, were abandoned, for lack of men to defend them, and the mount Era fortified, whither the multitude, that could not be safe abroad, was conveyed as into a place of safety. Here the Lacedæmonians found a tedious work that held them eleven years. For besides that Era itself was a strong piece, Aristomenes with three hundred stout soldiers did many incredible exploits that wearied them, and hindered their attendance on the siege. He wasted all the fields of Messene that were in the enemies' power, and brake into Laconia, taking away corn, wine, cattle, and all provisions necessary for his own people; the slaves and householdstuff he changed into money, suffering the owners to redeem them. To remedy

this mischief, the Lacedæmonians made an edict, that neither Messene nor the adjoining parts of their own country should be tilled or husbanded; which bred a great tumult among private men, that were almost undone by it. Yet the poet Tyrtæus appeased this uproar with pleasing songs. But Aristomenes grew so bold, that he not only ranged over all the fields, but adventured upon the towns, surprised and sacked Amyclæ, and finally caused the enemies to increase and strengthen their companies; which done, there yet appeared no likelihood of taking Era.

In performing these and other services, thrice Aristomenes was taken prisoner; yet still he escaped. One escape of his deserves to be remembered, as a thing very strange and marvellous. He had with too much courage adventured to set upon both the kings of Sparta; and being in that fight wounded, and felled to the ground, was taken up senseless, and carried away prisoner, with fifty of his companions. There was a deep natural cave into which the Spartans used to cast headlong such as were condemned to die for the greatest offences. To this punishment were Aristomenes and his companions adjudged. All the rest of these poor men died with their falls; Aristomenes (howsoever it came to pass) took no harm. Yet was it harm enough to be imprisoned in a deep dungeon, among dead carcasses, where he was like to perish through hunger and stench. But after a while he perceived by some small glimmering of light (which perhaps came in at the top) a fox that was gnawing upon a dead body. Hereupon he bethought himself, that this beast must needs know some way to enter the place, and get out. For which cause he made shift to lay hold upon it, and catching it by the tail with one hand, saved himself from biting with the other hand, by thrusting his coat into the mouth of it. So letting it creep whither it would, he followed, holding it as his guide, until the way was too strait for him, and then dismissed it. The fox being loose ran through a hole, at which came in a little light; and there did Aristomenes delve so long with his nails, that at last he clawed out his passage. When some fugitives of

Messene brought word to Sparta that Aristomenes was returned home, their tale sounded alike, as if they had said, that a dead man was revived. But when the Corinthian forces, that came to help the Lacedæmonians in the siege of Era, were cut in pieces, their captains slain, and their camp taken; then was it easily believed that Aristomenes was alive indeed.

Thus eleven years passed, whilst the enemies hovering about Era saw no likelihood of getting it; and Aristomenes with small forces did them greater hurt than they knew how to requite. But at the last, a slave, that had fled from Sparta, betrayed the place. This fellow had enticed to lewdness the wife of a Messenian, and was entertained by her when her husband went forth to watch. It happened in a rainy winter night, that the husband came home unlooked for, whilst the adulterer was within. The woman hid her paramour, and made good countenance to her husband, asking him by what good fortune he was returned so soon. He told her, that the storm of foul weather was such, as had made all his fellows leave their stations, and that himself had done as the rest did; as for Aristomenes, he was wounded of late in fight, and could not look abroad; neither was it to be feared that the enemies would stir in such a dark rainy night as this was. The slave that heard these tidings rose up secretly out of his lurking-hole, and got him to the Lacedæmonian camp with the news. There he found Emperamus his master, commanding in the king's absence. To him he uttered all; and obtaining pardon for his running away, guided the army into the town. Little or nothing was done that night. For the alarm was presently taken; and the extreme darkness, together with the noise of wind and rain, hindered all directions. All the next day was spent in most cruel fight; one part being incited by near hope of ending a long work, the other enraged by mere desperation. The great advantage that the Spartans had in numbers was recompensed partly by the assistance which women and children (to whom the hatred of servitude had taught contempt of death) gave to their

husbands and fathers; partly by the narrowness of the streets and other passages, which admitted not many hands to fight at once. But the Messenians were in continual toil; their enemies fought in course, refreshing themselves with meat and sleep, and then returning, supplied the places of their weary fellows with fresh companions. Aristomenes therefore, perceiving that his men, for want of relief, were no longer able to hold out, (as having been three days and three nights vexed with all miseries, of labour, watching, fighting, hunger, and thirst, besides continual rain and cold,) gathered together all the weaker sort, whom he compassed round with armed men, and so attempted to break out through the midst of the enemies. Emperamus, general of the Lacedæmonians, was glad of this; and to further their departure, caused his soldiers to give an open way, leaving a fair passage to these desperate madmen. So they issued forth, and arrived safe in Arcadia, where they were most lovingly entertained.

Upon the first bruit of the taking of Era, the Arcadians had prepared themselves to the rescue; but Aristocrates, their false-hearted king, said it was too late, for that all was already lost. When Aristomenes had placed his followers in safety, he chose out five hundred the lustiest of his men, with whom he resolved to march in all secret haste unto Sparta, hoping to find the town secure, and ill manned, the people being run forth to the spoil of Messene. In this enterprise, if he sped well, it was not doubted that the Lacedæmonians would be glad to recover their own, by restitution of that which they had taken from others; if all failed, an honourable death was the worst that could happen. There were three hundred Arcadians that offered to join with him; but Aristocrates marred all, by sending speedy advertisement thereof to Anaxander king of Sparta. The epistle which Anaxander sent back to Aristocrates was intercepted by some that mistrusted him to whom it was directed. Therein was found all his falsehood, which being published in open assembly, the Arcadians stoned him to death, and casting forth his body unburied, [illegible]

ment of his treachery, with a note, that the perjurer cannot deceive God.

Of Aristomenes no more is remaining to be said, than that committing his people to the charge of his son Gorgus and other sufficient governors, who should plant them in some new seat abroad, he resolved himself to make abode in those parts, hoping to find the Lacedæmonians work at home. His daughters he bestowed honourably in marriage. One of them Demagetus, who reigned in the isle of Rhodes, took to wife, being willed by an oracle to marry the daughter of the best man in Greece. Finally, Aristomenes went with his daughter to Rhodes, whence he purposed to have travelled unto Ardys the son of Gyges king of Lydia, and to Phraortes king of Media; but death prevented him at Rhodes, where he was honourably buried.

The Messenians were invited by Anaxilas, (whose great grandfather was a Messenian, and went into Italy after the former war,) being lord of the Rhegians in Italy, to take his part against the Zancleans in Sicily, on the other side of the straits. They did so; and winning the town of Zancle, called it Messene, which name it keeps to this day.

This second Messenian war ended in the first year of the twenty-eighth Olympiad. Long after which time, the rest of that nation, who staying at home served the Lacedæmonians, found means to rebel; but were soon vanquished, and being driven to forsake Peloponnesus, they went into Acarnania; whence likewise, after few ages, they were expelled by the Lacedæmonians, and then followed their ancient countrymen into Italy and Sicily; some of them went into Africa, where they chose unto themselves a seat.

It is very strange, that during two hundred and eighty years this banished nation retained their name, their ancient customs, language, hatred of Sparta, and love of their forsaken country, with a desire to return unto it. In the third year of the one hundred and second Olympiad, that great Epaminondas, having tamed the pride of the Lacedæmonians, revoked the Messenians home; who came flocking out of all quarters, where they dwelt abroad, into Peloponne-

sus. There did Epaminondas restore unto them their old possession, and help them in building a fair city; which, by the name of the province, was called Messene, and was held by them ever after, in despite of the Lacedæmonians, of whom they never from thenceforth stood in fear.

SECT. V.

Of the kings that were in Lydia and Media while Manasses reigned. Whether Deioces the Mede were that Arphaxad which is mentioned in the book of Judith. Of the history of Judith.

ARDYS king of Lydia, and Phraortes of the Medes, are spoken of by Pausanias, as reigning shortly after the Messenian war. Ardys succeeding unto his father Gyges, began his reign of forty-nine years, in the second of the twenty-fifth Olympiad. He followed the steps of his father, who encroaching upon the Ionians in Asia, had taken Colophon by force, and attempted Miletus and Smyrna. In like manner Ardys won Priene, and assailed Miletus, but went away without it. In his reign the Cimmerians, being expelled out of their own country by the Scythians, overran a great part of Asia, which was not freed from them before the time of Alyattes, this man's grandchild, by whom they were driven out. They had not only broken into Lydia, but won the city of Sardes; though the castle or citadel thereof was defended against them, and held still for king Ardys; whose long reign was unable, by reason of this great storm, to effect much.

Phraortes was not king until the third year of the twenty-ninth Olympiad, which was six years after the Messenian war ended; the same being the last year of Manasses's reign over Juda.

Deioces, the father of this Phraortes, was king of Media three and fifty of these five and fifty years in which Manasses reigned. This Deioces was the first that ruled the Medes in a strict form, commanding more absolutely than his predecessors had done. For they, following the example of Arbaces, had given to the people so much license, as caused every one to desire the wholesome severity of a more

lordly king. Herein Deioces answered their desires to the full. For he caused them to build for him a stately palace; he took unto him a guard, for defence of his person; he seldom gave presence, which also when he did, it was with such austerity, that no man durst presume to spit or cough in his sight. By these and the like ceremonies he bred in the people an awful regard, and highly upheld the majesty, which his predecessors had almost letten fall, through neglect of due comportments. In execution of his royal office, he did uprightly and severely administer justice, keeping secret spies to inform him of all that was done in the kingdom. He cared not to enlarge the bounds of his dominion by encroaching upon others; but studied how to govern well his own. The difference found between this king and such as were before him seems to have bred that opinion which Herodotus, l. 1. delivers, that Deioces was the first who reigned in Media.

This was he that built the great city of Ecbatane, which now is called Tauris; and therefore he should be that king Arphaxad mentioned in the story of Judith, as also Ben Merodach, by the same account, should be Nabuchodonosor the Assyrian, by whom Arphaxad was slain, and Holofernes sent to work wonders upon Phud and Lud, and I know not what other countries. For I reckon the last year of Deioces to have been the nineteenth of Ben Merodach; though others place it otherwise, some earlier, in the time of Merodach Baladan, some later, in the reign of Nabulassar, who is also called Nabuchodonosor.

In fitting this book of Judith to a certain time, there hath much labour been spent, with ill success. The reigns of Cambyses, Darius Hystaspis, Xerxes, and Ochus, have been sought into, but afford no great matter of likelihood; and now of late, the times foregoing the destruction of Jerusalem have been thought upon, and this age that we have in hand chosen by Bellarmine, as agreeing best with the story; though others herein cannot (I speak of such as fain would) agree with him. Whilst Cambyses reigned, the temple was not rebuilt, which in the story of Judith is

found standing and dedicated. The other two Persian kings, Darius and Xerxes, are acknowledged to have been very favourable to the Jews; therefore neither of them could be Nabuchodonosor, whose part they refused to take, and who sent to destroy them. Yet the time of Xerxes hath some conveniences aptly fitting this history; and above all, the opinion of a few ancient writers, (without whose judgment the authority of this book were of no value,) having placed this argument in the Persian monarchy, inclines the matter to the reign of this vainglorious king. As for Ochus, very few, and they faintly, entitle him to the business. Manifest it is, and granted, that in the time of this history there must be a return from captivity lately foregoing; the temple rebuilt; Joachim high priest; and a long peace, of threescore and ten years, or thereabout, ensuing. All these were to be among the Jews. Likewise on the other side, we must find a king that reigned in Nineveh eighteen years at the least; that vanquished and slew a king of the Medes; one whom the Jews refused to assist; one that sought to be generally adored as God, and that therefore commanded all temples of such as were accounted gods to be destroyed; one whose viceroy or captain-general knew not the Jewish nation, but was fain to learn what they were of the bordering people.

Of all these circumstances; the priesthood of Joachim, with a return from captivity, are found concurring, with either the time of Manasses before the destruction of Jerusalem, or of Xerxes afterward; the rebuilding of the temple a while before, and the long peace following, agree with the reign of Xerxes; the rest of circumstances requisite are to be found all together, neither before nor after the captivity of the Jews and desolation of the city. Wherefore the brief decision of this controversy is, *that the book of Judith is not canonical.* Yet hath Torniellus done as much, in fitting all to the time of Xerxes, as was possible in so desperate a case. For he supposeth, that under Xerxes, there were other kings, among which Arphaxad might be one, (who perhaps restored and reedified the city of

tane, that had formerly been built by Deioces,) and Nabuchodonosor might be another. This granted, he adds, that from the twelfth year to the eighteenth of Nabuchodonosor, that is, five or six years, the absence and ill fortune of Xerxes, in his Grecian expedition, (which he supposeth to have been so long,) might give occasion unto Arphaxad of rebelling: and that Nabuchodonosor, having vanquished and slain Arphaxad, might then seek to make himself lord of all by the army which he sent forth under Holofernes. So should the Jews have done their duty in adhering to Xerxes, their sovereign lord, and resisting one that rebelled against him; as also the other circumstances rehearsed before be well applied to the argument. For in these times, the affairs of Jewry were agreeable to the history of Judith, and such a king as this supposed Nabuchodonosor might well enough be ignorant of the Jews, and as proud as we shall need to think him. But the silence of all histories takes away belief from this conjecture; and the supposition itself is very hard, that a rebel, whose king was abroad, with an army consisting of seventeen hundred thousand men, should presume so far upon the strength of twelve hundred thousand foot, and twelve thousand archers on horseback, as to think that he might do what he list, yea, that there was none other god than himself. It is indeed easy to find enough that might be said against this device of Torniellus; yet, if there were any necessity of holding the book of Judith to be canonical, I would rather choose to lay aside all regard of profane histories, and build some defence upon this ground; than, by following the opinion of any other, to violate, as they all do, the text itself. That Judith lived under none of the Persian kings, Bellarmine (whose works I have not read, but find him cited by Torniellus) hath proved by many arguments. That she lived not in the reign of Manasses, Torniellus hath proved very substantially, shewing how the cardinal is driven, as it were, to break through a wall, in saying that the text was corrupted, where it spake of the destruction of the temple foregoing her time. That the kings Arphaxad

and Nabuchodonosor, found out by Torniellus, are the children of mere fantasy, it is so plain, that it needs no proof at all. Wherefore we may truly say, that they which have contended about the time of this history, being well furnished of matter wherewith to confute each other, but wanting wherewith to defend themselves, (like naked men in a stony field,) have chased Holofernes out of all parts of time, and left him and his great expedition *extra anni solisque vias*, in an age that never was, and in places that were never known.

Surely to find out [y] *the borders of Japheth, which were towards the south, and over against Arabia*, or the countries of Phud and Lud, that lay in Holofernes's way, I think it would as much trouble cosmographers as the former question hath done chronologers. But I will not busy myself herewith; having already so far digressed, in shewing who lived not with Manasses, that I think it high time to return unto mine own work, and rehearse what others I find to have had their part in the long time of his reign.

SECT. VI.

Of other princes and actions that were in these times.

THE first year of Manasses was the last of Romulus; after whose death, one year the Romans wanted a king. Then was Numa Pompilius, a Sabine, chosen; a peaceable man, and seeming very religious in his kind. He brought the rude people, which Romulus had employed only in wars, to some good civility, and a more orderly fashion of life. This he effected by filling their heads with superstition; as, persuading them that he had familiarity with a nymph called Egeria, who taught him a many of ceremonies, which he delivered unto the Romans as things of great importance. But all these devices of Numa were, in his own judgment, no better than mere delusions, that served only as rudiments to bring the savage multitude of thieves and outlaws, gathered into one body by Romulus, to some form of milder discipline than their boisterous and wild

[y] Judith ii. 23, 25.

nature was otherwise apt to entertain. This appeared by the books that were found in his grave almost six hundred years after his death, wherein the superstition taught by himself was condemned as vain. His grave was opened by chance, in digging a piece of ground that belonged to one L. Petilius, a scribe. Two coffins or chests of stone were in it, with an inscription in Greek and Latin letters, which said that Numa Pompilius the son of Pompo, king of the Romans, lay there. In the one coffin was nothing found, his body being utterly consumed. In the other were his books, wrapped up in two bundles of wax; of his own constitutions seven, and other seven of philosophy. They were not only uncorrupted, but in a manner fresh and new. The prætor of the city desiring to have a sight of these books, when he perceived whereunto they tended, refused to deliver them back to the owner, and offered to take a solemn oath, that they were against the religion then in use. Hereupon the senate, without more ado, commanded them to be openly burnt. It seems that Numa did mean to acquit himself unto wiser ages, which he thought would follow, as one that had not been so foolish as to believe the doctrine wherein he instructed his own barbarous times. But the poison, wherewith he had infected Rome when he sat in his throne, had not left working, when he ministered the antidote out of his grave. Had these books not come to light until the days of Tully and Cæsar, when the mist of ignorance was somewhat better discussed, likely it is, that they had not only escaped the fire, but wrought some good (and peradventure general) effect. Being as it was, they served as a confutation, without remedy, of idolatry that was inveterate.

Numa reigned three and forty years in continual peace. After him Tullus Hostilius, the third king, was chosen in the six and fortieth of Manasses, and reigned two and thirty years, busied for the most part in war. He quarrelled with the Albans, who met him in the field; but regard of the danger, which both parts had cause to fear, that might grow unto them from the Thuscanes, caused

them to bethink themselves of a course, whereby, without effusion of so much blood as might make them too weak for a common enemy, it might be decided who should command, and who obey.

There were in each camp three brethren, twins born at one birth, (Dionysius says that they were cousin-germans,) of equal years and strength, who were appointed to fight for their several countries. The end was, that the Horatii, champions for the Romans, got the victory, though two of them first lost their lives. The three Curatii that fought for Alba (as Livy tells it) were all alive, and able to fight, yet wounded, when two of their opposites were slain; but the third, Horatius, pretending fear, did run away, and thereby drew the others, who by reason of their hurts could not follow him with equal speed, to follow him at such distance one from another, that returning upon them he slew them, as it had been in single fight, man after man, ere they could join together, and set upon him all at once. Dionysius reports it somewhat otherwise, telling very particularly what wounds were given and taken, and saying, that first one of the Horatii was slain, then one of the Curatii, then a second Horatius, and lastly the two Curatii, whom the third Horatius did cunningly sever one from the other, as is shewed before.

This is one of the most memorable things in the old Roman history, both in regard of the action itself, wherein Rome was laid, as it were, in wager against Alba, and in respect of the great increase which thereby the Roman state obtained. For the city of Alba did immediately become subject unto her own colony, and was shortly after, upon some treacherous dealing of their governor, utterly razed, the people being removed unto Rome, where they were made citizens. The strong nation of the Latins, whereof Alba, as the mother city, had been chief, became ere long dependent upon Rome, though not subject unto it, and divers petty states adjacent were by little and little taken in: which additions, that were small, yet many, I will forbear to rehearse, (as being the works of sundry ages, and f[redacted]

them remarkable considered apart by themselves,) until such time as this fourth empire, that is now in the infancy, shall grow to be the main subject of this history.

The seventh year of Hippomenes in Athens was current with the first of Manasses. Also the three last governors for ten years, who followed Hippomenes, were in the same king's time. Of these I find only the names Leocrates, Apsander, and Erixias. After Erixias yearly rulers were elected.

These governors for ten years were also of the race of Medon and Codrus; but their time of rule was shortened, and from term of life reduced unto ten years; it being thought likely that they would govern the better, when they knew that they were afterwards to live private men under the command of others. I follow [z] Dionysius of Halicarnassus in applying their times unto those years of the Olympiads wherein the chronological table following this work doth set them. For he not only professeth himself to have taken great care in ordering the reckoning of times, but hath noted always the years of the Greeks, how they did answer unto the things of Rome, throughout all the continuance of his history. Whereas therefore he placeth the building of Rome in the first year of the seventh Olympiad, and affirms that the same was the first year of Charops's government in Athens; I hope I shall not need excuse for varying from Pausanias, who sets the beginning of these Athenians somewhat sooner.

In the reign of Manasses it was, that Midas, whom the poets feigned to have had ass's ears, held the kingdom of Phrygia. Many fables were devised of him, especially that he obtained of Bacchus, as a great gift, that all things which he should touch might immediately be changed into gold; by which means he had like to have been starved, (his meat and drink being subject to the same transformation,) had not Bacchus delivered him from this miserable faculty, by causing him to wash himself in the river Pactolus, the stream whereof hath ever since forsooth abounded in that

[z] Dion. Halic. l. 1. fol. 43. and 45.

precious metal. Finally it is said, he died by drinking bull's blood, being invaded by the Scythians.

In this age flourished that Antimachus who (saith Plutarch in the life of Romulus) observed the moon's eclipse at the foundation of Rome.

The Milesians, or (as Eusebius hath it) the Athenians, having obtained some power by sea, founded Macicratis, a city on the east of Egypt. Psammiticus herein seems to have assisted them, who used all means of drawing the Greeks into Egypt, accounting them his surest strength. For neither Miletus nor Athens were now of power sufficient to plant a colony in Egypt by force.

About this time Archias, with his companion Miscellus and other Corinthians, founded [a] Syracuse in Sicily; a city in after-times exceeding famous.

The city of Nicomedia, sometime [b] Astacus, was enlarged and beautified in this age by Zipartes, native of Thrace. Sibylla of Samus, according to Pausanias, lived about this time.

About these times also was Croton founded upon the bay of Tarentum by Miscellus, the companion of Archias that built Syracuse; Strabo makes it somewhat more ancient, and so doth Pausanias.

About the same time the Parthenians, being of age, and banished Lacedæmon, were conducted by Phalantus into Italy, where it is said they founded Tarentum; but [c] Justin and Pausanias find it built before, and by them conquered and amplified. And about the same time, Manasses yet living, the city Phaselis was founded in Pamphylia, Gela in Sicily, Interamne in the region of the Umbri, now Urbin in Italy. About which time also Chalcedon in Asia, over-against Byzantium, (now Constantinople,) was founded by the Megarenses; who therefore were upbraided as blind, because they chose not the other side of Bosphorus. It were a long work to rehearse all that is said to have been done

[a] Plut. et Euseb.

[b] Whence in Strabo there is Sinus Astacenus, a part of Propontis, where this city standeth. Paus. l. 5. Hel. l. 3. Strabo, l. 6.

[c] Justin. l. 3. Paus. l. 10.

in the five and fifty years of Manasses; that which hath already been told is enough; the rest, being not greatly worth remembrance, may well be omitted, reserving only Ben Merodach and Nabulassar to the business that will shortly require more mention of them.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Of the times from the death of Manasses to the destruction of Jerusalem.

SECT. I.

Of Ammon and Josias.

AMMON the son of Manasses, a man no less wicked than was his father before his conversion, restored the exercise of all sorts of idolatry; for which [d] God hardened the hearts of his own servants against him, who slew him after he had reigned two years: Philo, Eusebius, and Nicephorus give him ten years, following the Septuagint.

Josias succeeded unto Ammon, being but a child of eight years old. He began to seek after the God of David his father, and in his twelfth year he purged [e] *Juda and Jerusalem from the high places, and the groves, and the carved and molten images. And they brake down in his sight the altars of Baalim.* He caused all the images, as well those which were graven as molten, to be stamped to powder, and strewed on their graves that had erected them; and this he commanded to be done throughout all his dominions. He also slew those that sacrificed to the sun and moon, and caused the chariots and horses of the sun to be burnt. Of Josias it was prophesied, in the time of Jeroboam the first, when he erected the golden calf at Bethel, that a child should be born unto the house of David, Josias by name, and [f] *upon thee* (said the prophet, speaking to the altar) *shall he sacrifice the priests of the high places, that burn incense upon thee.* A prophecy very remarkable.

[d] 2 Kings xxi. 2 Chron. xxxiii. [e] 2 Kings xxii. 2 Chron. 34. [f] 1 Kings xiii.

In the eighteenth year of his reign he rebuilt and repaired the temple, at which time Hilkiah the priest found the book of Moses, called Deuteronomy, or, *of the law*, which he sent to the king: which when he had caused to be read before him, and considered of the severe commandments therein written, the prosperity promised to those that observe them, and the sorrow and extirpation to the rest, he rent his garments, and commanded Hilkiah and others to ask counsel of the prophetess Huldah, or Olda, concerning the book, who answered the messengers in these words: [g] *Thus saith the Lord, Behold, I will bring evil upon this place, and upon the inhabitants thereof, even all the curses that are written in the book which they have read before the king of Juda: because they have forsaken me, and burnt incense to other gods.* Only for the [h] king himself, because he was a lover of God and of his laws, it was promised that this evil should not fall on Juda and Jerusalem in his days, but that he himself should inherit his grave in peace.

Josias assembled the elders, caused the book to be read unto them, made a covenant with the Lord, and caused all that were found in Jerusalem and Benjamin to do the like, promising thereby to observe the laws and commandments in the book contained.

The execution done by Josias upon the altar, idols, monuments, and bones of the false prophets at Bethel, argueth his dominion to have extended unto those countries that had been part of the kingdom of the ten tribes. Yet I do not think that any victory of Josias in war got possession of these places, but rather that Ezekias, after the flight and death of Sennacherib, when Merodach opposed himself against Asarhaddon, did use the advantage which the faction in the north presented unto him, and laid hold upon so much of the kingdom of Israel as he was able to people. Otherwise also it is not improbable, that the Babylonian, finding himself unable to deal with Psammiticus in Syria, (as wanting power to raise the siege of Azotus, though the town held out twenty-nine years,) did give unto Manasses,

[g] 2 Chron. xxxiv. 24, 25. [h] 2 Kings xxii. 18. 2 Chron. xxxiv.

together with his liberty, as much in Israel as himself could not easily defend. This was a good way to break the amity that the kings of Juda had so long held with those of Egypt, by casting a bone between them, and withal, by this benefit of enlarging their territory with addition of more than they could challenge, to redeem the friendship of the Jews, which had been lost by injuries done in seeking to bereave them of their own. When it is said that Manasses did, after his deliverance from imprisonment, [i] *put captains of war in all the strong cities of Juda*, it may be that some such business is intimated as the taking possession, and fortifying of places delivered into his hands. For though it be manifest that he took much pains in making Jerusalem itself more defensible, yet I should rather believe that he, having already compounded with the Babylonian, did fortify himself against the Egyptians, whose side he had forsaken, than that he travailed in making such provisions only for his mind's sake. The earnestness of Josias in the king of Babel's quarrel doth argue, that the composition which Manasses had made with that king or his ancestor was upon such friendly terms as required not only a faithful observation, but a thankful requital. For no persuasions could suffice to make Josias sit still, and hold himself quiet in good neutrality, when Pharaoh Necho king of Egypt passed along by him to war upon the countries about the river of Euphrates.

The last year of Josias's reign it was, when as Necho the son of Psammiticus came with a powerful army towards the border of Judæa, determining to pass that way, being the nearest towards [k] Euphrates, either to strengthen the passages of that river about Carchemish, or Cercusium, for the defence of Syria, (as, long after this, Dioclesian is said by Ammianus Marcellinus to have done,) or perhaps to invade Syria itself. For it seemeth that the travail of Psammiticus had not been idly consumed about that one town of Azotus, but had put the Egyptians in possession of no small part of Syria, espe-

[i] 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14. [k] 2 Chron. xxxv. 20.

cially in those quarters that had formerly belonged unto the Adads, kings of Damasco.

Neither was the industry of Necho less than his father's had been, in pursuing the war against Babel. In which war two things may greatly have availed the Egyptians, and advanced their affairs and hopes; the extraordinary valour of the mercenary Greeks, that were far better soldiers than Egypt could of itself afford, and the danger wherein Assyria stood by the force of the Medes, which under the command of more absolute princes began to feel itself better, and to shew what it could do. These were great helps, but of shorter endurance than was the war, as in place more convenient shall be noted. At the present it seems, that either some preparation of the Chaldeans to reconquer did enforce, or some disability of theirs to make resistance did invite, the king of Egypt into the countries bordering upon Euphrates, whither Pharaoh Necho ascended with a mighty army.

These two great monarchs having their swords drawn, and contending for the empire of that part of the world, Josias advised with himself to which of these he might adhere, having his territory set in the midway between both, so as the one could not invade the other, but that they must of necessity tread upon the very face and body of his country: now though it were so, that Necho himself desired by his ambassadors [1] leave to pass along by Judæa, protesting that he directed himself against the Assyrians only, without all harmful purpose against Josias; yet all sufficed not, but the king of Israel would needs fight with him.

Many examples there were which taught what little good the friendship of Egypt could bring to those that had affiance therein; as that of Hosea, the last king of Israel, who, when he fell from the dependance of the Assyrian, and wholly trusted to Sabacus, or Sous, king of Egypt, was utterly disappointed of his hopes, and in conclusion lost both his life and estate, which the Assyrian so rooted up and tare in pieces, as it could never after be gathered together, or re-

[1] 2 Chron. xxxv.

planted. The calamities also that fell upon Juda in the thirteenth and fourteenth years of Ezekias, whilst that good king and his people relied upon Sethon, and more lately, the imprisonment of Manasses, were documents of sufficient proof to shew the ill assurance that was in the help of the Egyptians, who (near neighbours though they were) were always unready when the necessities of their friends required their assistance. The remembrance hereof might be the reason why Necho did not seek to have the Jews renew their ancient league with him, but only craved that they would be contented to sit still, and behold the pastime between him and the Assyrians. This was an easy thing to grant, seeing that the countenance of such an army, as did soon after this outface Nabulassar upon his own borders, left unto the Jews a lawful excuse of fear, had they forborne to give it any check upon the way. Wherefore I believe, that this religious and virtuous prince Josias was not stirred up only by politic respects to stop the way of Necho, but thought himself bound in faith and honour to do his best in defence of the Babylonian crown, whereunto his kingdom was obliged, either by covenant made at the enlargement of Manasses, or by the gift of such part as he held in the kingdom of the ten tribes. As for the princes and people of Juda, they had now a good occasion to shew, both unto the Babylonians, of what importance their friendship was, and to the Egyptians, what a valiant nation they had abandoned, and thereby made their enemy.

Some think that this action of Josias was contrary to the advice of Jeremy the prophet, which I do not find in the prophecy of Jeremy, nor can find reason to believe. Others hold opinion, that he forgat to ask the counsel of God; and this is very likely, seeing he might believe that an enterprise grounded upon fidelity and thankfulness due to the king of Babel could not but be displeasing unto the Lord. But the wickedness of the people (in whom the corruptions of former times had taken such root, as all the care of Josias in reforming the land could not pluck up) was questionless far from hearkening how the matter would stand with God's

pleasure, and much further from inquiring into his secret will, wherein it was determined that their good king, whose life stood between them and their punishment, should now be taken from among them, and that in such sort as his death should give entrance to the miseries ensuing. So Josias, levying all the strength he could make, near unto Megiddo, in the half tribe of Manasses, encountered Necho; and there he received the stroke of death, which, lingering about him till he came to Jerusalem, brought him to the sepulchres of his ancestors. His loss was greatly bewailed of all the people and princes of Juda, especially of Jeremy the prophet, who inserted a sorrowful remembrance thereof into his book of [m] Lamentations.

SECT. II.

Of Pharaoh Necho, that fought with Josias: of Jehoahaz and Jehoiakim, kings of Juda.

OF these wars, and particularly of this victory, Herodotus hath mention among the acts of Necho. He tells us of this king, that he went about to make a channel, whereby ships might pass out of Nilus into the Red sea. It should have reached above a hundred miles in length, and been wide enough for two galleys to row in front. But in the midst of the work, an oracle foretold that the barbarians should have the benefit of it, which caused Necho to desist when half was done. There were consumed in this toilsome business twelve hundred thousand Egyptians, a loss great enough to make the king forsake his enterprise, without troubling the oracle for admonition. Howsoever it were, he was not a man to be idle; therefore he built a fleet, and levied a great army, wherewith he marched against the king of Babel. In this expedition he used the service, as well of his navy as of his land forces; but no particular exploits of his therein are found recorded, save only this victory against Josias, where Herodotus calls the place Magdolus, and the Jews Syrians; which is a small error, seeing that Judæa was a province of Syria, and Magdolus, or Magdale-

[m] Lament. iv. 20.

is taken to have been the same place (though diversely named) in which this battle was fought. After this, Necus took the city of Cadytis, which was perhaps Carchemish, by Euphrates, and made himself lord in a manner of all Syria, as [n] Josephus witnesseth.

Particularly we find, that the Phœnicians, one of the most powerful nations in Syria, were his subjects, and that by his command they surrounded all Africa, [o] setting sail from the gulf of Arabia, and so passing along all the coast, whereon they both landed, as need required, and sowed corn for their sustenance in that long voyage, which lasted three years. This was the first navigation about Africa wherein that great Cape, now called *of Good Hope*, was discovered, which after was forgotten, until Vasco de Gama, the Portingal, found it out, following a contrary course to that which the Phœnicians held; for they, beginning in the east, ran the way of the sun, south and then westward, after which they returned home by the pillars and straits of Hercules, (as the name was then,) called now the Straits of Gibraltar, having Afric still on the right hand: but the Portingals, beginning their voyage not far from the same straits, leave Afric on the larboard, and bend their course unto the east. That report of the Phœnicians, which Herodotus durst not believe, how the sun in this journey was on their right hand, that is, on the north side of them, is a matter of necessary truth; and the observation then made hereof makes me the better to believe that such a voyage was indeed performed.

But leaving these discourses of Necho's magnificence, let us tell what he did in matters more importing his estate. The people of Juda, while the Egyptians were busy at Carchemish, had made Jehoahaz their king, in the room of his father Josias. The prophet [p] Jeremy calls this new king Shallum, by the name of his younger brother, alluding perhaps to the short reign of Shallum king of the ten tribes: for Shallum of Israel reigned but one month, Jehoahaz no more than three. He was not the eldest son of Josias:

[n] *Jos.* Ant. Jud. l. 10. c. 7. [o] Herod. l. 4. [p] Jer. xxii. 32.

wherefore it may seem that he was set up as the best affected unto the king of Babel, the rest of his house being more inclined to the Egyptian, as appears by the sequel. An idolater he was, and thrived accordingly. For when as Necho had despatched his business in the north parts of Syria, then did he take order for the affairs of Judæa. This country was now so far from making any resistance, that the king himself came to Riblah in the land of Hamath, where the matter went so ill on his side, that Necho did cast him into bonds, and carry him prisoner into Egypt, giving away his kingdom to Eliakim his elder brother, to whom of right it did belong. This city of Riblah, in after-times called Antiochia, was a place unhappy to the kings and princes of Juda, as may be observed in divers examples. Yet here Jehoiakim, together with his new name, got his kingdom; an ill gain, since he could no better use it. But however Jehoiakim thrived by the bargain, Pharaoh sped well, making that kingdom tributary, without any stroke stricken, which three months before was too stout to give him peace, when he desired it. Certain it is, that in his march outward Necho had a greater task lying upon his hands, than would permit him to waste his forces upon Judæa; but now the reputation of his good success at Megiddo and Carchemish, together with the dissension of the princes Josias's sons, (of whom the eldest is probably thought to have stormed at the preferment of his younger brother,) gave him power to do even what should please himself. Yet he did forbear to make a conquest of the land, perhaps upon the same reason which had made him so earnest in seeking to hold peace with it: for the Jews had suffered much in the Egyptians quarrel, and being left by these their friends in time of need unto all extremities, were driven to forsake that party, and join with the enemies; to whom if they shewed themselves faithful, who could blame them? It was therefore enough to reclaim them, seeing they were such a people, as would not upon every occasion shift side, but endure more than Pharaoh, in the pride of his [redacted] thought that any henceforth should lay upon th[redacted]

a patron did he mean to be unto them. Nevertheless he laid upon them a tribute of an hundred talents of silver and one talent of gold; that so he might both reap at the present some fruit of his pains taken, and leave unto them some document in the future of greater punishment than verbal anger, due to them if they should rebel. So he departed, carrying along with him into Egypt the unfortunate king Jehoahaz, who died in his captivity.

The reign of Jehoahaz was included in the end of his father's last year, otherwise it would hardly be found that Jehoiakim his successor did reign ten whole years, whereas the scriptures give him eleven, that is current and incomplete. If any man will rather cast the three months of this short reign into the first year of the brother, than into the father's last, the same arguments that shall maintain his opinion will also prove the matter to be unworthy of disputation; and so I leave it.

Jehoiakim in impiety was like his brother; in faction he was altogether Egyptian, as having received his crown at the hand of Pharaoh. The wickedness of these last kings being expressed in scriptures none otherwise than by general words, with reference to all the evil that their fathers had done, makes it apparent, that the poison wherewith Ahaz and Manasses had infected the land was not so expelled by the zealous goodness of Josias, but that it still cleaved unto the chief of the people, [q] *yea, unto the chief of the priests also;* and therefore it was not strange that the kings had their part therein. The royal authority was much abased by the dangers wherein the country stood in this troublesome age: the princes did in a manner what they listed, neither would the kings forbear to profess that they could deny them nothing. Yet the beginning of Jehoiakim had the countenance of the Egyptian to grace it, which made him insolent and cruel, as we find by that example of his dealing with Uriah the prophet: though herein also the princes do appear to have been instigators. This holy man denounced God's judgments against the city and temple,

[q] 2 Chron. xxxvi. 14.

in like sort as other prophets had formerly done, and did in the same age. The king, with all the men of power, and all the princes, hearing of this, determined to put him to death. Hereupon the poor man fled into Egypt; but such regard was had unto Jehoiakim, that Uriah was delivered unto his ambassador, and sent back to the death, contrary to the custom used, both in those days and since, among all civil nations, of giving refuge unto strangers that are not held guilty of such inhuman crimes as, for the general good of mankind, should be exempted from all privilege.

It concerned Pharaoh to give all contentment possible to Jehoiakim; for the Assyrian lion, that had not stirred in many years, began about these times to roar so loud upon the banks of Euphrates, that his voice was heard unto Nilus, threatening to make himself lord of all the forest. The causes that hitherto had withdrawn the house of Merodach from opposing the Egyptian in his conquest of Syria, require our consideration in this place, before we proceed to commit them together at Carchemish, where shortly after this the glory of Egypt is to fall.

SECT. III.

Of the kings of Babylon and Media. How it came to pass that the kings of Babel could not give attendance on their business in Syria, which caused them to lose that province.

MERODACH the son of Baladan, who, taking the advantage that Sennacherib's misadventure and death, together with the dissension between his children, presented, made himself king of Babylon, was eleven years troubled with a powerful enemy, Asarhaddon the son of Sennacherib reigning over the Assyrians in Nineveh, from whom whilst he could not any other way divert his cares, he was fain to omit all business in Syria, and (as hath been formerly shewed) to make over unto Ezekias some part of the kingdom of the ten tribes. From this molestation the death of Asarhaddon did not only set him free, but gave unto him some part of Assyria, if not (as is commonly but less probable

thought) the whole kingdom. How greatly this was to the liking of the Assyrians, I will not here stand to inquire; his long reign following, and his little intermeddling in matters of Syria, make it plain, that he had work enough at home, either in defending or in establishing that which he had gotten. Josephus gives him the honour of having won Nineveh itself, which we may believe, but surely he did not hold it long. For in the times soon following, that great city was free, and vanquished Phraortes the Median. Perhaps it yielded upon some capitulation, and refused afterwards to continue subject, when the kings being of the Chaldean race preferred Babylon before it.

Some think that this was the Assyrian king whose captains took Manasses prisoner, but I rather believe those that hold the contrary, for which I have given my reasons in due place. To say truth, I find little cause why Merodach should have looked into those parts as long as the Jews were his friends, and the Egyptians, that maligned the northern empire, held themselves quiet at home, which was until the time of Psammiticus, about the end of this king's reign, or the beginning of his son.

Ben Merodach, the son and successor of this king, is not mentioned in the scriptures, yet is he named by good consent of authors, and that speak little of his doings. The length of his reign is gathered by inference to have been one and twenty years, for so much remaineth of the time that passed between the beginning of his father's and his nephew's reigns, (which is a known sum,) deducting the years of his father and of his son Nabulassar. This (as I take it) was he that had Manasses prisoner, and released him. He sped ill in Syria, where Psammiticus, by the virtue of his mercenary Greeks, did much prevail. This may have been some cause that he released Manasses, and did put into his hands some part more of the kingdom of Samaria; which is made probable by circumstances alleged before.

Nabulassar, that reigned in Babylon after his father Ben Merodach, had greater business in his own kingdom than would permit him to look abroad, insomuch as it may be

thought to have been a great negligence or oversight of Psammiticus and Necho, that they did not occupy some good part of his dominions beyond Euphrates. For it was in his time that Phraortes king of the Medes invaded Assyria, and besieged Nineveh; from whence he was not repelled by any force of Nabulassar, but constrained to remove by the coming of Scythians, who in these ages did overflow those parts of the world, laying hold upon all that they could master by strong hand. Of these Scythians, and the lordship that they held in Asia, it is convenient that I speak in this place; shewing briefly aforehand how the Medes, upon whom they first fell, were busied in the same times with hopes of conquering Assyria.

Phraortes the son of Deioces, king of the Medes, having by many victories enlarged his dominions, conceived at length a fair possibility of making himself lord of Nineveh.

That city (as [r] Herodotus reports it) having been a sovereign lady, was not forsaken of all her dependants, yet remained in such case, that of herself she was well enough.

This makes it plain, that howsoever Merodach had gotten possession of this imperial seat, and made it subject, as was the rest of the country, yet it found the means to set itself at liberty; as after this again it did, when it had been regained by Nabulassar his grandchild.

Sharp war, and the very novelty of sudden violence, use to dismay any state or country not inured to the like; but custom of danger hardeneth even those that are unwarlike. Nineveh had been the palace of many valiant kings lately reigning therein; it had suffered and resisted all the fury wherewith either domestic tumults between the sons of Sennacherib, or foreign war of the Babylonians, could afflict it; and therefore it is the less wonderful, that Phraortes did speed so ill in his journey against it. He and the most of his army perished in that expedition, whereof I find no particular circumstances (perhaps he undervalued their forces, and brought a less power than was needful.) It is enough that we may herein believe Herodotus.

[r] Herod. l. 1.

Cyaxares the son of Phraortes, a braver man of war than his father, won as much of Asia the Less as lay eastward from the river of Halys; he sought revenge upon the Assyrians for the death of his father, and besieged Nineveh itself, having a purpose to destroy it. I rather believe Eusebius, "That he took the city, and fulfilled his displea-"sure upon it," than Herodotus, "that the Scythian army "came upon him whilst he lay before it." For where equal authorities are contradictory, (as Eusebius, though far later than Herodotus, yet having seen other authors, that are now lost, is to be valued according to his great reading,) there do I hold it best to yield unto the best likelihoods.

To think that the Scythians came upon Cyaxares whilst he lay before Nineveh, were to accuse him of greater improvidence than ought to be suspected in one commended as a good soldier. But to suppose that he was fain to leave the town, when a war so dangerous fell upon his own country, doth well agree both with the condition of such business as that Scythian expedition brought into those parts, and with the state of the Chaldean and Assyrian affairs ensuing.

The destruction of this great city is both foretold in the book of Tobit, and there set down as happening about these times; of which book whosoever was the author, he was ancient enough to know the story of those ages, and hath committed no such error in reckoning of times as should cause us to distrust him in this. As for the prophecy of Nahum, though it be not limited unto any certain term, yet it appears to have taken effect in the final destruction of Nineveh by Nabuchodonosor, according to the common opinion. For the prophet hath mention of a conquest of Egypt, foregoing this calamity, whereof we will speak in due place. Some that ascribe more authority than the reformed churches yield to the book of Tobit, are careful, as in a matter of necessity, to affirm, that about these times Nineveh was taken; but they attribute (conjecturally) the victory over it to Ben Merodach; a needless conjecture, if the place of Eusebius be well considered. Yet I hold it

probable, that Nabulassar the son of Ben Merodach did seize upon it, and place a king or viceroy therein, about such time as the country of Assyria was abandoned by Cyaxares, when the Scythian war overwhelmed Media. For then was the conquest wrought out ready to his hand, the swelling spirits of the Ninevites were allayed, and their malice to Babylon so assuaged, that it might be thought a great favour if Nabulassar, appointing unto them a peculiar king, took him and them into protection: though afterwards, to their confusion, this unthankful people and their king rebelled again, as shall be shewed in the reign of Nabuchodonosor.

SECT. IV.

The great expedition of the Scythians, who ruled in Asia eight and twenty years.

§. 1.

The time of this expedition.

NOW that I have shewed what impediment was given by the Assyrians and the Medes to the Babylonians, who thereby were much disabled to perform any action of worth upon the Egyptians in Syria, it is time that I speak of that great Scythian expedition, which grievously afflicted, not only the Babylonians, but the Medes and Lydians, with the countries adjacent, in such wise that part of the trouble redounded even to the Egyptians themselves. Of the Scythian people in general, Herodotus makes very large discourse, but interlaced, as of matter ill known, with many fables; of this expedition he tells many particulars, but ill agreeing with consent of time. Concerning his fabulous reports, it will be needless to recite them, for they are far enough distant from the business in hand. The computation of times, which, by inference out of his relations, may seem very strange, needeth some answer in this place; lest otherwise I should either seem to make myself too bold with an author, in citing him after a manner different from his own tale, or else to be too forgetful of myself, in bringing to act upon the stage those persons which I had alread[illegible]

buried. Eight and twenty years he saith that the Scythians reigned in Asia, before Cyaxares delivered the country from them. Yet he reports a war between Cyaxares and Halyattes the Lydian, as foregoing the siege of Nineveh; the siege of Nineveh being ere the Scythians came. And further he tells how the Scythians, having vanquished the Medes, did pass into Syria, and were encountered in Palæstina by Psammiticus king of Egypt, who by gifts and entreaty procured them to depart from him. These narrations of Herodotus may every one of them be true, though not in such order of time as he hath marshalled them. For Psammiticus was dead before Cyaxares began to reign, and Cyaxares had spent half of his forty years ere Halyattes was king of Lydia; so that he could not, after those Lydian wars, reign eight and twenty years together with the Scythians. It is true, that Eusebius doth also call Psammis the son of Pharaoh Necho by the name of Psammiticus; and this king Psammis may, by some strained conjecture, be thought to have been he that met with the Scythians; for he lived with both Cyaxares and Halyattes. But Eusebius himself refers all that business of the Scythian eruption into Palæstina to Psammiticus the father of Necho, whom he leaves dead before the reign of Halyattes. Therefore I dare not rely upon Herodotus in this matter, otherwise than to believe him, that such things were in these ages, though not in such order as he sets them down.

It remains that I collect, as well as I can, those memorials which I find of this expedition scattered in divers places; a work necessary, for that the greatness of this action was such as ought not to be omitted in a general history; yet not easy, the consent of those that have written thereof being nothing near to uniformity.

I have noted before, that in the reign of Ardys king of Lydia, the Cimmerians overran that kingdom, and were not expelled until Halyattes, the nephew of Ardys, got the upper hand of them. In these times therefore of Ardys, Sadyattes, and Halyattes, are we to find the eight and twenty years wherein the Scythians reigned over Asia.

Now forasmuch as Psammiticus the Egyptian had some dealings with the Scythians, even in the height of their prosperity, we must needs allow more than one or two of his last years unto this their dominion. But the beginning of Halyattes's reign in Lydia, being three and twenty years complete after the death of Psammiticus, leaves the space very scant, either for the great victories of the Scythians, necessarily supposed before they could meet the Egyptian in Syria, or for those many losses which they must have received ere they could be driven quite away. To increase this difficulty, the victorious reign of Nabuchodonosor in Babylon is of no small moment. For how may we think it possible, that he should have adventured the strength of his kingdom against the Egyptians and Jews, had he stood in daily fear of losing his own, to a more mighty nation that lay upon his neck? To speak simply as it appears to me, the victories ascribed to Cyaxares and Halyattes over these warlike people were not obtained against the whole body of their army, but were the defeatures of some troops that infested their several kingdoms; other princes, and among these Nabulassar, having the like success, when the pleasures of Asia had mollified the courages of these hardy northern lads. Wherefore we may probably annex the eight and twenty years of the Scythian's rule to as many almost the last of Nabulassar's reign, in compass whereof their power was at the greatest. This is all that I can say of the time wherein Asia suffered the violence of these oppressors.

§. 2.

What nations they were that brake into Asia, with the cause of their journey.

TOUCHING the expedition itself, Herodotus tells us, that the Cimmerians, being driven out of their country by the Scythians, invaded and wasted some part of Asia; and that the Scythians, not contented with having won the land of the Cimmerians, did follow them, I know not why, into far removed quarters of the world, so (as it were by chance) falling upon Media and Egypt, in this pursuit of men that were gone another way into Lydia. Hereby we may ga-

ther that the Cimmerians were an odious and base people, the Scythians as mischievous and foolish; or else Herodotus and some other of his countrymen great slanderers of those by whom their nation had been beaten, and Ionia more than once grievously ransacked. The great valour of the Cimmerians, or Cimbrians, is so well known, and their many conquests so well testified in histories of divers nations, that the malice of the Greeks is insufficient to stain them with the note of cowards. These were the posterity of Gomer, who peopled the greatest part of our western world, and whose reflow did overwhelm no small portion of Greece and Asia, as well before and after, as in the age whereof we do now entreat. He that would more largely inform himself of their original and actions, may peruse Goropius Becanus's Amazonica; of many things in which book, that may be verified which the learned Ortelius is said to have spoken of all Goropius's works, "that it is easy to laugh at them, "but hard to confute them." There we find it proved, by such arguments and authorities as are not likely to be regarded, that the Cimmerians, Scythians, and Sarmatians, were all of one lineage and nation, howsoever distinguished in name, by reason of their divers tribes, professions, or perhaps dialect of speech. Homer indeed hath mention of the Cimmerians, whose country whether he place in the west, as near unto the ocean and bounds of the earth, or in the north, as being far from the sun, and covered with eternal darkness, certain it is, that he would have them near neighbours to hell; for he had the same quarrel to them which Herodotus had, and therefore belike would have made them seem a kind of goblins. It was the manner of this great poet (as Herodotus writing his life affirms) to insert into his works the names of such as lived in his own times, making such mention of them as the good or ill done by them to himself deserved. And for this reason it is proved by Eustathius, that the Cimmerians were so disgraced by him because they had wasted his country. Perhaps that invasion of Phrygia by the Amazons, whereof Homer puts a remembrance into Priamus's discourse with

Helen, was the very same which Eusebius noteth to have happened somewhat before the age of Homer, at what time the Cimmerians with the Amazons together invaded Asia.

This is certain, that both the Amazons and the Cimmerii (who in after-times were called Cimbri) did often break into Greece and Asia, which though it be not in express terms written that they did with joint forces, yet, seeing they invaded the selfsame places, it may well be gathered that they were companions. One journey of the Amazons into Greece, mentioned also by Eusebius, was by the straits of the Cimmerians, as we find in [s] Diodore, who further telleth us that the Scythians therein gave them assistance. [t] The same author, before his entry into those discourses of the Amazons, which himself acknowledgeth to be fabulous, doth report them to have been wives of the Scythians, and no less warlike than their husbands, alleging the example of that queen who is said to have slain the great Persian Cyrus. That it was the manner of the Cimbri to carry their wives along with them to the wars, and how desperate the courage was of those women, the terrible descent of them into Italy, when Marius the Roman overthrew them, gives proof sufficient. I will not here enter into a discourse of the Amazons; other place will give me better leisure to speak of them: but seeing that they are noted by diverse historians to have belonged unto the Cimmerians, to the Scythians, and to the Sarmatians, we may the better approve Goropius's conclusion, that these three nations were one, at least that they were near allies.

Now concerning the expulsion of the Cimmerians by the Scythians, it appears to have been none other than the sending a colony of them forth into Asia, with an army of Scythians to help them, in purchasing a new seat, and establishing the plantation.

The Sarmatians also were companions in this journey. For the city of Novograd in Russia (which country is the same that was called Sarmatia) stood in their way homewards, as shall anon be further shewed. So that all the

[s] Diod. l. 4. c. 2. [t] Diod. l. 2. c. 11.

north was up in arms; and therefore it is no marvel, though many countries felt the weight of this great inundation. Such another voyage was that which the same people made five hundred years and more after this, when they were encountered by the Romans. For they issued from the parts about the lake Mæotis; they were then likewise assisted (saith [u] Plutarch in the most likely report of them) by the Scythians their neighbours; they had in their army above three hundred thousand fighting men, besides a huge multitude of women and children; they wandered over many countries, beating all down before them; and finally, thinking to have settled themselves in Italy, they divided their company for the more easy passage thither, and were consumed in three terrible battles by the Roman consuls. Mere necessity enforced these poor nations to trouble the world, in following such hard adventures. For their country being more fruitful of men than of sustenance, and shut up on the north side with intolerable cold, which denied issue that way to their overswelling multitudes; they were compelled to discharge upon the south, and by right or wrong to drive others out of possession, as having title to all that they had power to get, because they wanted all that weaker, but more civil people had. Their sturdy bodies, patient of hunger, cold, and all hardness, gave them great advantage over such as were accustomed unto a more delicate life, and could not be without a thousand superfluities. Wherefore commonly they prevailed very far, their next neighbours giving them free passage, that they might the sooner be rid of them; others giving them, besides passage, victuals and guides to conduct them to more wealthy places; others hiring them to depart with great presents; so as the further they went on, the more pleasant lands they found, and the more effeminate people.

§ 3.

Of the Cimmerians' war in Lydia.

THE first company of these, consisting for the most part of Cimmerians, held the way of the Euxine seas, which

[u] Plutarch in the Life of Marius.

they had still on the right hand, leaving on the other side, and behind them, the great mountains of Caucasus. These having passed through the land of Colchis, that is now called Mengrelli, entered the country of Pontus, and being arrived in [x] Paphlagonia, fortified the promontory whereon Sinope, a famous haven town of the Greeks, was after built. Here it seems that they bestowed the weakest and most unserviceable of their train, together with the heaviest part of their carriages, under some good guard; as drawing near to those regions, in conquest whereof they were to try the utmost hazard. For in like sort afterwards did the Cimbri (of whom I spake even now) dispose of their impediments, leaving them in a place of strength, where Antwerp now stands, when they drew near unto Gaul, upon which they determined to adventure themselves in the purchase. From Sinope, the way into Phrygia, Lydia, and Ionia was fair and open to the Cimmerians, without any ledge of mountains, or any deep rivers to stay their march: for Iris and Halys they had already passed.

What battles were fought between these invaders and the Lydians, and with what variable success the one or other part won and lost, I find not written, nor am able to conjecture. This I find, that in the time of Ardys the Cimmerians got possession of Sardes, the capital city of Lydia, only the castle holding out against them. Further I observe, that whereas Herodotus tells of the acts performed by Gyges and Ardys, kings of Lydia, before this invasion, and by Alyattes and Crœsus in the times following; all that Ardys did against the Cimmerians, and all, save burning the Milesians' corn-fields, that was done in twelve years by Sadyattes his son, (who perhaps had his hands so full of this business, that he could turn them to nothing else,) is quite omitted: whereby it may seem that neither of the two did any thing worthy of remembrance in those wars, but were glad enough that they did not lose all.

Certainly, the miseries of war are never so bitter and many, as when a whole nation, or great part of it, forsaking

[x] Herod. l. 4.

their own seats, labour to root out the established possessors of another land, making room for themselves, their wives, and children. They that fight for the mastery are pacified with tribute, or with some other services and acknowledgments, which had they been yielded at the first, all had been quiet, and no sword bloodied. But in these migrations, the assailants bring so little with them, that they need all which the defendants have, their lands and cattle, their houses and their goods, even to the cradles of the sucking infants. The merciless terms of this controversy arm both sides with desperate resolution, seeing the one part must either win or perish by famine, the other defend their goods, or lose their lives without redemption. Most of the countries in Europe have felt examples hereof; and the mighty empire of Rome was overthrown by such invasions. But our isle of Britain can best witness the diversity of conquests; having, by the happy victory of the Romans, gotten the knowledge of all civil arts, in exchange of liberty that was but slenderly instructed therein before; whereas the issue of the Saxon and Danish wars was, as were the causes, quite contrary. For these did not seek after the dominion only, but the entire possession of the country, which the Saxons obtained, but with horrible cruelty, eradicating all of the British race, and defacing all memorial of the ancient inhabitants through the greater part of the land. But the Danes (who are also of the Cimmerian blood) found such end of their enterprise as it may seem that the Cimmerians in Lydia, and Scythians in the higher Asia, did arrive unto. So that by considering the process of the one, we shall the better conceive the fortune of the other. Many battles the Danes won, yet none of such importance as sufficed to make them absolute conquerors; many the Saxons won upon the Danes, yet not so great as could drive them quite away, and back from hence, after they had gotten firm footing. But in course of time, the long continuance even of utter enmity had bred such acquaintance between them, as, bowing the natures of both these people, made the one more pliant unto the other. So their dis-

agreeable qualities, both ill and good, being reduced into one mild temper, no small number of the Danes became peaceable cohabitants with the Saxons in England, where great slaughter had made large room; others, returning home, found their own country wide enough to receive them, as having disburdened itself of many thousands that were sent to seek their graves abroad. And such (as I think) was the end of the Cimmerian war in Lydia; whereunto though some victory of Alyattes may have hastened the conclusion, yet the wearisome length of time seems to have done most in compelling them to desire of rest. I know not why I should fear to add hereunto my further conjecture, which is, that the matter was so compounded between the Cimmerians and Alyattes, that the river of Halys should divide their territories. For Halys was henceforth the border of the Lydians, and on the eastern side of the river was the country of the Amazons, that is indeed of the Cimmerians and other Scythian people, whose wives and daughters these warlike women are supposed to have been.

And hereunto the quarrel ensuing, between Alyattes and Cyaxares the Mede, hath very good reference. For Alyattes (as is said) fought in defence of certain Scythians, upon whom the Median sought revenge. And it stands with reason, that the Lydians and Cimmerians, being much weakened with mutual slaughters, should have joined in a league of mutual defence for their common safety: though otherwise it had been dangerous to Alyattes, if he had permitted the Median to extend his kingdom so far westward, whatsoever the pretences might be of taking revenge upon such as had spoiled each of their countries. As for that occasion of the war between these two kings, which Herodotus relates, I find it of little weight, and less probability. He tells of Scythians, that, being chased out of their country by faction, came unto Cyaxares, who committed unto them certain boys, to be instructed in the Scythian tongue and feat of archery. Now it so fell out (saith he, lib. 1.) that these Scythians using much to hunt, and commonly bringing home somewhat with them, did never-

theless other whiles miss of their game, and come home as they went. Hereupon the king, being froward and choleric, bitterly reviled them; and they, as impatient as he, killed one of the boys that was under their charge, whom, dressing like venison, they presented unto him; which done, they fled unto Alyattes. This Herodotus delivers as the ground of a war that lasted six years between the Medes and Lydians, the one king demanding these fugitives to be delivered into his hand, the other refusing to betray such men as were become his suppliants. To this I will say no more, than that I see no cause that might induce the Scythians to betake themselves to either of these kings, unto whom their nation had wrought so much displeasure. Particularly they had reason to distrust Cyaxares, for the treachery that he shewed in the massacreing of their countrymen that were in his kingdom; of whom it is now meet that we should speak.

§. 4.

The war of the Scythians in the higher Asia.

AS the Cimmerians held their course westerly, along the shores of the Euxine sea, so the Scythians and Sarmatians took the other way, and having the Caspian sea on their left hand, passed between it and Caucasus through Albania, Colthene, and other obscure nations, where now are the countries of Servan and Georgia, and so they entered into Media. The Medes encountered them in arms, but were beaten, and thereupon glad to come to any agreement with them. This was in the time of Phraortes, whilst Psammiticus reigned in Egypt. If it were in the sixth year of Nabulassar's reign over Babylon, (supposing him to have reigned thirty-five, otherwise we must allow to Ben Merodach what we take from him,) then do the twenty-eight years of their dominion end one year before the great Nabuchodonosor was king; so giving him good leave to provide securely for the invasion of Syria, which expedition he began while his father yet lived, as Josephus out of Berosus relates the history.

Now the Medes, desirous to save themselves as well as

they might, from this terrible nation, which when they had no lust to a second trial of the sword, refused not to undergo the burden of a tribute, but thought nothing dishonourable that would serve to remove these troublesome guests into some other lodging. On the other part, the Scythians finding still the countries pleasanter and better the further that they marched into the south, did suffer themselves to be persuaded, that a little more travel would add a great deal more to their content. For they relied so much upon their own valour, that they feared no resistance; and, being the bravest men, they thought it reason that they should dwell in the best region. That Phraortes persuaded them into Egypt I do not think; Babylon was near enough, whither if he could send these locusts to graze, then should not his unfriendly neighbours have cause to laugh at his misfortune. What shift Nabulassar made with them, or that at all he had any dealings with them, I do not read. But it is well known that his dominions lay in the midst between Media and Egypt; as also, that they made all those parts of Asia tributary; wherefore we may very well believe, that they watered their horses in his rivers, and that he also was content to give them provender.

Psammiticus hearing of their progress, (like the jealous husband of a fair wife,) took care that they might not look upon Egypt; lest the sight thereof should more easily detain them there, than any force or persuasion that he could use would send them going. Therefore he met them in Syria, presuming more on the great gifts which he meant to bestow upon them, than on his army that should keep them back. Egypt was rich; and half the riches thereof had not been ill spent in saving all. Yet Psammiticus took the most likely course whereby to make his part good against them by strong hand, in case they had been so obstinate as to refuse all indifferent composition. For he lay close upon the edge of the wilderness in Gaza, (as I take it,) the southernmost border of Palæstina; whence he never advanced to meet with the Scythians, but gave them leave to feel as much of the scalding sunbeams, ill agreeing with

their temper, as all the length of Syria could beat upon them. When they were come as far as Ascalon, the next city to Gaza, then did he assay them with goodly words, accompanied with gifts, which were likely to work so much the better, by how much the worse they were pleased with the heat of a climate so far different from their own. Psammiticus had at his back a vast wilderness, over the scorching sands whereof the Scythians, more patient of cold and wet than of the contrary distempers, could ill have endured to pursue him, through unknown ways, had they fought with him and prevailed; especially the kingdom of Egypt being ready to entertain him with relief, and them with new trouble at the end of their weary journey. Wherefore they were content to be entreated, and, taking in good part his courteous offers, returned back to visit their acquaintance in the high countries. The Egyptian king (besides that he preserved his own estate from a dangerous adventure, by hiring this great army to depart from him) found all his cost well repaid in the process of his wars in Syria, where the nations beyond Euphrates had no power to molest him, being more than ever troubled themselves with the return of their oppressors. For the Scythians, resolving now to seek no further, began to demand more than the tribute formerly imposed. And not contented to fleece the naturals with grievous exactions, they presumed to live at discretion upon the country, taking what they listed from the owners; and many times (as it were to save the labour of taking often) taking all at once. This tyrannous dominion they long used over the higher Asia, that is, over the country lying between the Caspian and Red seas, and between India and Asia the Less. Happy it was for the poor people, that in so large a space of ground, there was room enough for these new comers; otherwise the calamity that fell, as it were by chance, upon those private men to whose wealth any Scythian did bear a fancy, would have lighted in general upon all at one clap, leaving few alive, and none able to relieve their fellows. Yet it seems that the heaviest burden lay upon Media; for it was a fruitful country, not far

from their own home, and lay under a climate well agreeing with the constitution of their bodies; there also it was that they had the fatal blow by which their insolent rule was taken from them.

[y] Cyaxares king of the Medes, who in this extremity was no better than a rent gatherer for the Scythians, perceiving that his land lay unmanured and waste, through the negligence of his people that were out of heart by daily oppressions, and that the matter could not be remedied by open force, resolved to prove what might be done by stratagem. The managing of the business is thus delivered in brief; that he and his Medes feasted the better part of the Scythians, made them drunk, and slew them, recovering hereby the possession of all that they had lost.

Such another slaughter was committed upon the Danes in England; but it was revenged by their countrymen with greater cruelties than ever they had practised before. That the Scythians which escaped this bloody feast made any stir in Media, I do not find; neither do I read that either in revenge hereof, or upon other pretence, the Medes were troubled by invasion from Scythia in time following.

This is the more strange, for that the army returning home out of Media was very strong, and encountered with opposition (as [z] Herodotus reports it) no less than it had found abroad. Wherefore it may be, that the device of Cyaxares, to free his country, took good effect, with less bloodshed than hath been supposed. For if he surprised all the chief of them, it was no hard matter to make a good composition. Many of them doubtless in twenty-eight years had so well settled themselves, that they were desirous of rest, and might be permitted, without any danger, to remain in the country; many (of whom I shall speak anon) having done what they could in the business, for which they came forth, were willing to return home with what they had gotten; such as were not pleased with either of these two courses might go join with the Cimmerians in Lydia, or seek their fortunes in other provinces

[y] Herod. l. 1. [z] Herod. l. 4.

among their own companions. Whereas *all the families of the north* are said to have been with Nebuchadnezzar, it may be understood, that a great part of the Scythians, upon hope of gain, or desire to keep what they had already gained, were content to become subject unto Nabulassar; men's love of their wealth being most effectual in taming the more unquiet love of inordinate liberty. This is certain, that [a] Nebuchadnezzar, as ever after, so in his first beginning of war, did beat the Egyptians, who in ages foregoing had been accustomed to deal with the Babylonians after another fashion: and this new success of that king may be imputed, in regard of human means, to such addition as this of new forces.

Of the Scythian army returning out of Media, diverse authors report a story which confirms me in the opinion, that this company went forth to assist their kindred and friends in acquiring a new seat, and establishing their plantation. For these had left their wives behind them; a good argument to prove that they meant to come again. The Scythian women, to comfort themselves in their husbands' absence, became bedfellows to their slaves. These got a lusty brood of youths, that were loath to be troubled with fathers-in-law, and therefore prepared to fight with them at their return. If they were only the children of slaves which compounded an army, (as Herodotus would have it, who tells us that the Scythians were wont to pull out all their bondmen's eyes,) it must needs be that they were very boys, or else that the women did very little while continue chaste. Wherefore I rather believe the tale as it is told by the Russes themselves, who agreeing in the rest with the consent of histories, make that report of their ancestors returning homewards, which I will set down as I find it in [b] Mr. Dr. Fletcher's exact discourse of the Russe commonwealth. "They understood by the way that their "cholopey, or bond-slaves, whom they left at home, had in "their absence possessed their towns, lands, houses, wives, "and all. At which news being somewhat amazed, and

[a] Jer. xxv. 9. [b] Russe Commonwealth, c. 4.

" yet disdaining the villainy of their servants, they made the " more speed home: and so not far from Novograd met " them in warlike manner marching against them. Where- " upon advising what was best to be done, they agreed all " to set upon them with no other show of weapon but with " their horsewhips, (which, as their manner is, every man " rideth withal,) to put them in remembrance of their ser- " vile condition, thereby to terrify them and abate their " courage. And so marching on, and lashing all together " with their whips in their hands, they gave the onset; " which seemed so terrible in the ears of their villains, and " struck such a sense into them of the smart of the whip, " which they had felt before, that they fled all together like " sheep before the drivers. In memory of this victory, the " Novogradians ever since stamped their coin (which they " call a *dingoe Novogrodskoy*, current through all Russia) " with the figure of a horseman shaking a whip aloft in his " hand." It may seem, that all the women of that country have fared the worse ever since, in regard of this universal fault; for such a pudkey, or whip, as terrified those slaves, curiously wrought by herself, is the first present that the Muscovian wife, even in time of wooing, sends to him that shall be her husband, in token of subjection; being well assured to feel it often on her own loins. But this was a document unto the Scythians, or rather Sarmatians, (for Novograd stands in the country that was called Sarmatia,) to beware of absenting themselves any more so long from their wives; which after this I find not that they did.

Thus much I thought good to set down of the Scythian expedition; not only because it is the most memorable act performed abroad by that nation, famous in histories, and terrible to many countries; but for that it appears to have been a great cause of the Egyptians prevailing hitherto in Syria and about Judæa, which continues yet a while the centre of our discourse.

SECT. V.

Of princes living in divers countries in these ages.

HAVING thus far digressed from the matters of Juda,

to avoid all further occasion of doing the like, I will here insert a note of such kings and men of mark, as were between the death of Manasses and the ruin of Jerusalem. Of the Egyptians, Babylonians, Medes, and Lydians, I have spoken as much as I thought needful. In Rome, Tullus Hostilius held the kingdom, until the one and twentieth year of Josias; at which time Ancus Marcius succeeding, reigned four and twenty years. After him L. Tarquinius Priscus, a new-come stranger, but very rich, prevailed so far by his graciousness among the people, that he got the kingdom to himself, disappointing the sons of Ancus, over whom he was tutor. He began in the fourth year of Zedekia, and reigned eight and thirty years. In this time it was, namely in the second year of the thirtieth Olympiad, that the Lacedæmonians, bethinking them how to be avenged of the Arcadians, who gave succour to the Messenians against them in the former war, entered the territory, took the city of Phigalia, or Phialia, from whence their garrisons were soon after beaten out. Cypselus expelling the race of the Bacidæ made himself lord of Corinth about these times, and governed it in peace thirty years; leaving for successor his son Periander, one of the seven sages, but a cruel tyrant; who, among other vile acts, slew his own wife, and afterwards, as in her honour, stripped all the Corinthian women stark naked, burning their apparel as an acceptable offering to her ghost. Hereby we may perceive that the wisdom of the Greeks was not excellent in those days; when such a one as this could be admired as excelling all the country.

In these times also were Zaleucus and Draco, famous lawgivers, the one among the Locrians in Italy, the other in the city of Athens. The laws of Draco were so rigorous, that he was said to have written them with blood; for he rewarded every small offence with death. Wherefore his constitutions were soon abrogated, and power given to Solon by the Athenians to make new in their stead. But the laws of Zaleucus were very mild. He forbade any gentlewoman to walk abroad with more than one bond-

woman attending on her, *unless it were when she was drunk*; or to go forth of the town by night, unless it were to some sweetheart's bed; or to dress herself up in immodest bravery, unless it were to inveigle a lover. By which pleasant ordinances he effected his desire: for none would seem, in breaking the statutes, to be in such case as challenged the dispensation. It is noted in this man as a singular example of justice, that when his own son had committed adultery, and was therefore to lose both his eyes, he did not cause him to be pardoned, but gave one eye of his own to save the young man (who also lost one) from utter blindness.

I shall not henceforth need so far to wander, as hitherto I often have done, in pursuing of actions collateral to the history, for inserting them in their order of time. The Chaldeans will soon fall under the Persians; the Persians, ere long, encounter with the Greeks; the Greeks with the Romans; the Romans with many nations. Concerning all these, as they shall successively present themselves, in their flourishing estate, it will be enough to recapitulate the most memorable accidents that befell them in their minority. But in the long space of more than thirteen hundred years, which passed between the *calling of Abraham* and the destruction of Jerusalem, we find little matter, wherein the history of Israel had any dealing with other nations, than the very nearest borderers. Yet read we of many kingdoms that in these many ages were erected and thrown down; as likewise many memorable acts were performed in Greece and elsewhere, though not following one another at any near distance; all which must have been quite omitted, or else reserved unto a very unseasonable rehearsal, had they not been disposed in this method, whereof he that will not allow the conveniency may pardon the necessity.

SECT. VI.

The oppression of Judæa, and destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans.

NOW to return to the Jewish story, from whence we

have so far digressed. In the third year of Jehoiakim, Nabuchodonosor the second, his father yet living, entered Judæa with a great army, who, besieging and forcing Jerusalem, made Jehoiakim his vassal in despite of Necho that had established him king, and took with him for pledges Daniel, being as yet a child, with Ananias, Misael, and Azariah. Also he took a part of the church-treasures, but stayed not to search them throughly; for Necho hasted to the succour of Jehoiakim, hoping to find Nabuchodonosor in Judæa; wherein this great Babylonian had no disposition to hazard himself and his army, it being a country of an evil affection towards him, as also far off from any succour or sure place of retreat. If he had, as may be supposed, any great strength of Scythian horsemen in his army, it was the more wisely done of him to fall back out of the rough, mountainous, and overhot country, into places that were more even and temperate. But besides all these reasons, the death of his father happening at the same time, gave him just occasion to return home, and take possession of his own kingdom before he proceeded further in the second care of adding more unto it. This he did at reasonable good leisure: for the Egyptian was not ready to follow him so far, and to bid him battle, until the new year came in; which was the fourth of Jehoiakim, the first of Nabuchodonosor, and the last of Necho. In this year the Babylonian lying upon the bank of Euphrates, (his own territory bounding it on the north side,) attended the arrival of Necho. There, after a resolved contention for victory, Necho was slain, and his army remaining forced to save itself, which full ill it did, by a violent retreat. This victory Nabuchodonosor so well pursued, as he recovered all Syria, and whatsoever the Egyptians held out of their proper territory towards the north. The Egyptians being in this conflict beaten, and altogether for the present discouraged, Jehoiakim held himself quiet, as being friend in heart unto the Egyptian; yet having made his peace with the Chaldean the year before, who contented with such profit as he could then readily make, had forborne to lay

any tribute upon Juda. But this cool reservedness of Jehoiakim was on both sides taken in ill part. The Egyptian king Psammis, who succeeded unto Necho, began to think upon restoring Jehoahaz, taken prisoner by his father, and setting him up as a domestical enemy against his ungrateful brother. Against all such accidents the Judæan had prepared the usual remedy, practised by his forefathers: for he had made his own son [c] Jechonia king with him long before, in the second year of his own reign, when the boy was but *eight years old.* As for this rumour of Jehoahaz's return, the prophet Jeremy foretold that it should prove idle, saying, [d] *He shall not return thither, but he shall die in the place whither they have led him captive, and shall see this land no more.* The Egyptians indeed having spent all their mercenary forces, and received that heavy blow at Carchemish, had not remaining such proportion of sharp steel as of fair gold, which, without other help, is of little effect. The valour of Necho was not in Psammis. Apries, who reigned after Psammis, did once adventure to shew his face in Syria; but after a big look he was glad to retire, without adventuring the hazard of a battle. Wherefore this decaying nation fought only with brave words, telling such frivolous tales as men, that mean to do nothing, use of their glorious acts forepast against Josias and Jehoahaz. In this case it was easy for Jehoiakim to give them satisfaction, by letting them understand the sincerity of his affection towards them; which appeared in time following. But Nabuchodonosor went to work more roundly: he sent a peremptory message to Jehoiakim, willing him not to stand upon any nice points, but acknowledge himself a subject, and pay him tribute; adding hereunto such fearful threats, as made the poor Judæan lay aside all thought of [e] Pharaoh, and yield to do, as the more mighty would have him. So he continued in the obedience of Nabuchodonosor three years. At this time Jeremy the prophet cried out against the Jews, putting them in mind that he had now three and twenty years exhorted

[c] 2 Chron. xxxvi. 9. [d] Jer. xxii. 11, 12. [e] Joseph. Ant. lib. 10. cap. 7.

them to repentance, but because they had stopped their ears against him, and the rest of the prophets, he now pronounced their captivity at hand, and that they should endure the yoke of bondage full seventy years. The same calamity he threatened to all the neighbouring nations, to the Egyptians, Moabites, Ammonites, Idumæans, and the rest; foretelling that they should all drink out of the Babylonian pitcher the wine of his fury whom they had forsaken, and after the seventy years expired, that the [f] Babylonians themselves should taste of the same cup, and be utterly subverted by the Medes, and the Judæans permitted to return again into their own fields and cities. The first imprisonment of the prophet Jeremy seems to have been in the fourth year of this Jehoiakim, at which time Baruch the scribe wrote all his prophecies out of his mouth, whom he sent to read them unto the people, and afterward to the princes, who offered them to the king; but fearing the king's fury they had first set Jeremy at liberty, and advised him and Baruch to hide themselves.

Jehoiakim, after he heard a part of it, and perceived the ill news therein delivered, made no more ado, but did cut the book in pieces, and cast it into the fire. All which Jeremy caused to be new written, with this addition; That the dead body of Jehoiakim should be cast out, exposed in the day to the heat, and in the night to the frost, and that there should be none of his seed to sit on the throne of David.

Time thus running on, while Jehoiakim rested secure of all danger, as tributary to the Babylonian, yet well thought of by the Egyptian; the mighty city of Tyre opposed itself against the Chaldean forces; and upon just confidence of her own strength, despised all preparation that could be made against her. Now forasmuch as the term of seventy years was prescribed unto the desolation, as well of Tyre as of Jerusalem, and other towns and countries; it is apparent, that they which refer the expugnation of this city unto the nineteenth year of Nabuchodonosor, have sure authority

[f] Jer. xxv.

for their warrant. Whereupon likewise it follows of necessity, that the siege thereof began in the seventh of his reign; as having lasted thirteen years.

Here I will take leave to intrude a brief note concerning the several beginnings that are reckoned of this great prince's rule, whereupon hath risen much disputation. The third year of Jehoiakim was the last of Nabulassar, who being delivered from other cares, took notice of such as had revolted from him unto Pharaoh Necho, and sent this noble prince, his son, with an army into Syria, to reclaim them. In this expedition was [g] Daniel carried away, who therefore makes mention of the same year. The year next following, being the fourth of Jehoiakim, was the first of Nebuchadnezzar; which [h] Jeremy affirmeth in express words, and from this we reckon all his time and actions that follow. In his three and twentieth year he conquered Egypt, and then began to reign as a great monarch, finding none that durst offend him. The second from this year it was wherein he saw that vision of the image consisting of sundry metals; which did prefigurate the succession of great kingdoms that should rule the earth before the coming of Christ. I will not stand to dispute about this, which is the best conclusion, that I find, of long disputations; but return unto the siege of Tyre, which began in the seventh of his reign.

The city of Tyre covered all the ground of an island that was divided from the main by a deep and broad channel of the sea. The Chaldeans had no fleet, and were no seamen; the Tyrians, in multitude of goodly ships, and skill to use them, excelled all other nations; and every wind, from one part or other, brought needful provisions into the city. Wherefore neither force nor famine could greatly hurt the place; whereof nevertheless the judgments of God (denounced against it by [i] Isaiah, Jeremy, Ezekiel) had threatened the destruction; and the obstinate resolution of Nabuchodonosor had fully determined to perform it. This high-minded king, impatient of resistance, undertook

[g] Dan. i. 1. [h] Jer. xxv. 1. [i] Isa. xxiii. Jer. xxv. Ezek. xxvi.

a vast piece of work; even to fill up the sea, that parted the island from the continent. The city of old Tyrus, that stood opposite to the new, upon the firm land, and the mountain of Libanus near adjoining, that was loaden with cedars and abundance of other trees, might furnish him with materials. Thirteen years were spent in this laborious and almost hopeless business: which needeth not seem strange; for Alexander, working upon that foundation which was remaining of Nabuchodonosor's pier, and being withal assisted by a strong fleet, was yet seven months ere he could make way into the city. Wherefore if the raging of the sea was able to carry away that wherewith Alexander laboured to cover a shelf, with much more violence could it overturn, and as it were consume the work of Nabuchodonosor, who laid his foundations in the bottom of the deep; striving, as it were, to fill the empty belly of this cormorant; whereas the Macedonian did only stop the throat of it. Every man knows God could have furthered the accomplishment of his own threats against this place, (though it had not pleased him to use either miracle, or such of his more immediate weapons as are earthquakes and the like,) by making at least the seas calm, and adding the favourable concurrence of all second helps. But so it pleaseth him oftentimes, in chastising the pride of man, to use the hand of man; even the hand of man striving, as may seem, against all resistance of nature and fortune. So in this excessive labour of the Chaldeans [k] *every head was made bald, and every shoulder was made bare.* Yet Nabuchodonosor would not give over, till he was master of the town.

When he was entered upon this desperate service, whether it were so, that some losses received, some mutiny in his army, or (which is most likely, and so [l] Josephus reports it) some glorious rumours of the Egyptians, gave courage to his evil-willers; Jehoiakim renounced his subjection, and began to hope for the contrary of that which quickly fell out. For Nabuchodonosor gave him no leisure

[k] Ezek. xxix. [l] Jos. Ant. Jud. l. 10. c. 7.

to do much hurt; but with part of his army marched directly into Judæa, where the amazed king made so little resistance, (the Egyptians having left him as it were in a dream,) that he entered Jerusalem, and laid hands on Jehoiakim; whom he first bound, and determined to send to Babylon, but changing counsel, he caused him to be slain in the place, and gave him the sepulchre of an ass, to be devoured by beasts and ravenous birds, according to the former prophecies; leaving in his place Jehoiakim, or Jechonias, his son; whom after three months and ten days Nabuchodonosor removed, and sent prisoner to Babylon, with Ezekiel, Mardochæus, and Josedech, the high priest. The mother of Jechonias, together with his servants, eunuchs, and all the ablest men and best artificers of the land, were also then carried away captives. This Jechonias, following the counsel of Jeremy the prophet, made no resistance, but submitted himself to the king's will; wherein he both pleased God, and did that which was best for himself; though at the present it might seem otherwise, to such as considered the evil that befell him, rather than the greater evil that he thereby avoided. This only particular act of his is recorded, which was good. But it seems that he was partaker at least of his father's faults, if not an instigator: which was the cause that his submitting himself to God's pleasure did not preserve his estate; for so we read in general words, that *he did evil in the sight of the Lord, according to all that his father had done.* In his stead Nabuchodonosor established Mathania his uncle in the kingdom of Juda, and called him Zedekias, which is as much to say, as *the justice of God.* For like as Necho king of Egypt had formerly displaced Jehoahaz, after his father Josias was slain, and set up Jehoiakim the son of another mother; so Nabuchodonosor slew Jehoiakim, who depended on the Egyptians, and carrying his son Jechonias prisoner to Babel, gave the kingdom to this Zedekias, that was whole brother to that Jehoahaz, whom Necho took with him into Egypt. From Zedekias he required an oath for his faithful obedience, which Zedekias gave him, and called the

living God to witness in the same, that he would remain assured to the kings of Chaldea.

In the first year of Zedekias, Jeremy saw and expounded the vision of the ripe and rotten grapes, the one signifying those Judæans that were carried away captive, the other those that stayed and were destroyed.

In the fourth of Zedekias, Jeremy wrote in a book all the evil that should fall upon Babylon, which book or scroll he gave to Sheraia, when he went with the king Zedekias to Babylon, to visit Nabuchodonosor; willing him first to read it to the captive Jews, and then to bind it to a stone, and cast it into Euphrates, pronouncing these words: "Thus shall Babel be drowned, and shall not rise from the "evil that I will bring upon her." This journey of Zedekias to Babel is probably thought to have been in way of visitation, carrying some presents. But I further think that he had some suit there to make, which his lordly master refused to grant, and sent him away discontented. For at his return all the bordering princes sent messengers to him, inciting him (as it seems) to those unquiet courses, from which [m] Jeremy dehorted both him and them. The prophet, by God's appointment, made bonds and yokes, one of which he wore about his own neck, others he sent unto the five kings of Edom, Moab, Ammon, Tyre, and Zidon, by those messengers which came to visit Zedekias: making them know, that if they and the kings of Juda abode in the obedience of Babylon, they should then possess and enjoy their own countries; if not, they should assuredly perish by the sword, by fire, and by pestilence.

He also foretold them, that those vessels which as yet remained in Jerusalem should also travel after the rest, and at length they should be restored again.

The same year Ananias the false prophet took off the wooden chain which Jeremy ware in sign of the captivity of the Jews, and brake it; vaunting, that in like manner, after two years, God would break the strength of Babel, and the yoke which he laid on all nations; restore Je-

[m] Jer. xxvii.

chonias and all the Jews, with the vessels and riches of the temple, and give an end to all these troubles. But Jeremy, instead of his wooden yoke, ware a collar of iron: and in sign that Ananias had given a deceitful and false hope to the people, he foretold the death of this cold prophet, which seized upon him in the second month. After this, when Zedekias had wavered long enough between faith and passion, in the eighth year of his reign he practised more seriously against Nabuchodonosor, with his neighbours the Edomites, Ammonites, Moabites, Tyrians, and others that were promised great aids of the Egyptians; in confidence of whose resistance he determined to shake off the Babylonian yoke. Hereof when Nabuchodonosor had knowledge, he marched with his army, in the dead of winter, toward Jerusalem, and besieged it. Jeremy persuaded Zedekias to render the city and himself; but being confident of the help from Egypt, and being persuaded by his counsellors and false prophets, that it was unpossible that the kingdom of Juda should be extirpate, until the coming of Silo, (according to the prophecy of [n] Jacob,) he despised the words of [o] Jeremy, and imprisoned him. For Jeremy had told the king, that the city should be taken and burnt; that the king should not escape, but be taken prisoner, and brought to the presence of Nabuchodonosor; that he should not perish by the sword, but being carried to Babel, die his natural death.

Jerusalem being the following year surrounded by Nabuchodonosor's army, the king of Egypt, Pharaoh Hophra, according to [p] Jeremy, (Herodotus calleth him Apries,) entered the border of Juda with his army to succour Zedekias, of whose revolt he had been the principal author. But Jeremy gave the Jews faithful counsel, willing them not to have any trust in the succours of Egypt; for he assured them, that they should return again, and in no sort relieve them. And it fell out accordingly. For when the Chaldeans removed from Jerusalem to encounter the Egyptians, these vaunting patrons abandoned their enterprise, and tak-

[n] Gen. xlix. 10. [o] Jer. xxxii. and xxxiv. [p] Jer. xliv. Herod. l. 2.

ing Gaza in their way homeward, returned into Egypt, as if they had already done enough, leaving the poor people of Jerusalem to their destined miseries.

In the mean while the Jews, who in their first extremity had manumised their [q] Hebrew bondmen, (as God's law required at the year of jubilee,) and made them free, thereby the better to encourage them to fight, did now, upon the breaking up of the Chaldean army, repent them of their charity; and thinking all had been at an end, held them perforce to their former slavery. But the Chaldees being returned to the siege, the prophet [r] Jeremy, when the state of Jerusalem began now to grow to extremity, counselled [s] Zedekias to render himself unto them, assuring him of his own life, and the safety of the city, if he would so do. But his obstinate heart conducted him to that wretched end, which his neglect of God, and his infidelity and perjury, had provided for him.

Three and twenty months, (as some do reckon it,) or according to Josephus eighteen, the [t] Babylonian army lay before Jerusalem, and held it exceeding straitly besieged. For [u] *they built forts against it round about*, or (as P. Martyr hath it) *extruxerunt contra eam turrem ligneam per circuitum;* "they surrounded the city with wooden "towers," so as the besieged could neither sally out, nor receive into the city any supply of men or victuals. [x] Josephus reports, that they overtopped the walls with high towers raised upon mounts, from which they did so beat upon the wall with their engines, that the defendants were compelled to forsake their stations. Now although it were so that the besieged also raised counter-buildings like unto these, yet the great king of Babel, who commanded all the regions thereabouts, and had the woods and rivers to obey him, found means to overthrow all the citizens' endeavours, and to beat down as fast from without as they raised from within; the body and foundation of his own works being

[q] Levit. xxv. 39, 40, &c.
[r] Jer. xxxiv.
[s] Jer. xxxix.
[t] Ibid.
[u] 2 Kings xxv. 1.
[x] Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. 10. c. 11.

guarded by the walls of Jerusalem interposed; and theirs within laid open to their enemies' disturbance. Besides, both famine and pestilence (which commonly accompany men straitly besieged) grew on fast upon them, whereby, when the number, strength, and courage of the Jews failed, the Chaldeans made a breach, and forcing an entry, their princes did seat themselves, as lords of the town, in the middle gate. Zedekias beholding this uncomfortable sight, and finding no remedy of the danger present, lost both his courage and his hope at once, and shifted himself, together with his wives, children, princes, and principal servants, out of the city, by a way under ground, leaving his amazed and guideless people to the merciless swords of their enemies. Thus he, who, when Jeremy the prophet persuaded him to render himself, despised both the counsel of God and the force of Nabuchodonosor, used now that remedy which Wolpius truly termeth *triste, turpe, et infelix*, "wo-"ful, shameful, and unfortunate."

By this secret subterrane vault Zedekias making his stealth, recovered (by the help of the dark night) the plains or deserts of Jericho; but, by reason of the train that followed him and his, (every one leading with him those whom they held most dear unto them,) he was easily traced and pursued. How great soever the company was that attended on him, yet, as [y] Josephus reports it, they, on whose fidelity he most reposed himself, no sooner beheld the Chaldeans approach, but they all abandoned his defence, and shifted themselves into the deserts as they could. For whom God had forsaken, no man followed, but the ministers of his vengeance; by whom Zedekias being made prisoner, with his children and princes, he was conveyed to Ribla, or Riblath, a city (as some think) of Nepthalim, where Nabuchodonosor then lay, as a place indifferent between Jerusalem and Tyre, with both which at once he had to do.

Now after Nabuchodonosor had laid before Zedekias the many graces and benefits conferred upon him, together

[y] Jos. Ant. l. 10. c. 11.

with the notable falsehood and perjury wherewith he had requited them; he commanded his children, princes, and friends to be slain before his face. This being done, to the end that so lamentable a spectacle should be the last that ever he should behold in the world, he caused his eyes to be torn out of his head, and so carried him in a slavish manner to Babel, where he consumed the rest of his wretched life in perpetual imprisonment. Herein this most marvellous prophecy of Ezekiel was performed: [z] *Adducam eum in Babylonem, et ipsam non videbit;* "I will bring him into Ba-" bylon, and he shall not see it."

Thus in the eleventh and last year of Zedekias, which was the eighteenth of Nabuchodonosor, the Chaldeans entered the city by force, where sparing no sex nor age, they committed all to the sword that they therein found.

In the year next following, [a] Nabuzaradan, general of the army, burnt the king's palace, and the rest of Jerusalem; and after this fire had lasted from the seventh to the tenth day, he also burnt the temple of God to the ground, when it had stood four hundred thirty and one years.

After this, upon a second search, Nabuzaradan (not yet satiated with blood) commanded seventy and two others to be slaughtered, which had hidden themselves from the first fury, to wit, the chief and the second priest, two commanders of Zedekias's men of war, five of his household servants, and others to that number; carrying away to Babylon the ablest of the people throughout all Judæa, and leaving the poorest labouring souls, with some that followed the party of Nabuchodonosor, to till the ground: over whom he left governor Godolia, the nephew of that Saphan whom Josias had formerly employed in the reformation of religion, who is, for his justice and equity, by Josephus highly commended. This man, a Jew by nation, left Zedekias, as it seemeth, in the beginning of the war; and by Jeremy's desire to live with him, it appeareth that he had embraced the same advice which the prophet gave unto Zedekias; which

[z] Ezek. xii. 13. [a] 2 Kings ult.

was, to submit himself altogether to the Babylonian, who being ordained by God to exercise his justice, was therefore resistless. The prophet Jeremy being left to his own choice, either to live in Chaldea or elsewhere, he made election of Godoliah, to whom he was recommended; who not only embraced Jeremy, but gave comfort to all the other Jews, that were left under his charge, promising them favour and liberty so long as they remained obedient subjects to Nabuchodonosor, by whom he was established provincial governor of his own nation.

But ere that year was expired, a prince of the late king's house, (who, during the siege of Jerusalem had kept himself out of the storm, with Baalis king of the Ammonites,) being followed by ten other chosen men, while Godoliah feasted them in Maspha, or Mitspah, the city of his residence, traitorously slew him, together with divers Chaldeans and Jews that accompanied him. This done, he made an escape, and in his way encountering with eighty persons repairing towards Godoliah with presents, he slew the most of them, and spared the rest, because they promised to discover unto him some treasures hidden in the fields during the war. He also took with him a daughter of Zedekias, committed to the care of Godoliah by Nabuchodonosor. This practice and intent of Ismael had been formerly discovered unto Godoliah by Johanan, one of the leaders of the few remaining Jews; but Godoliah was incredulous.

Judæa being now left without a governor, (for Ismael durst not take it upon him, but retired himself, or rather fled as fast as he could, to the Ammonites,) the residue of the Jews, fearing the revenge of the Chaldeans, resolved to fly away into Egypt, and besought Jeremy to ask counsel of God for them; who readily made them answer, That if they remained in Judæa God would provide for them and shew them mercy; but if they sought to save themselves in Egypt, that they should then undoubtedly perish. Notwithstanding this advice, the Jews held their determination; and despising the oracle of God, and constrain[illegible]

and Baruch to accompany them, they travelled into Egypt, and inhabited, by the permission of Pharaoh, near unto Taphnes, where when Jeremy often reprehended them for their idolatry, foretelling both the destruction of themselves and the Egyptians also, he was by these his own hard-hearted and ungrateful countrymen stoned to death; and by the Egyptians, who greatly reverenced him, buried near the sepulchre of their own kings.

END OF THE SECOND BOOK.

END OF VOL. II.

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